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TURKEY.

MR. DISRAELI'S statement in the House of Commons on Thursday last conveyed no important information except that the Turks have succeeded in revictualling the fort of Niksics. It is, however, satisfactory to receive an official assurance that the Great Powers are not pressing unduly on the SULTAN, and that negotiations with the vassal Principalities are pending. The demands of Servia and of Herzegovina for concessions of territory will certainly not be granted; but it is not known whether they are seriously preferred. In the meanwhile affairs at Constantinople have undergone no material change since the startling event of last week. The true history of the recent murders, as of the previous death of the SULTAN, will perhaps never be known; but in both cases the simplest and least alarming explanation becomes more and more probable. It seems now to be the opinion of the European residents that the ex-SULTAN committed suicide; and it is even asserted that he had blamed the Emperor NAPOLEON III. for not adopting the same course after the catastrophe of Sedan. The motives which are alleged for the murder of the Ministers are intelligible and probable. According to one account, HASSAN BEY was brother of a wife, or favourite, of ABDUL AZIZ; and another version represents him as having been a slave in the palace, and having afterwards attained military rank under the patronage of the SULTAN. It is not incredible that he may have resented, both on his account and through a feeling of loyalty to his master, the revolution in which HUSSEIN PASHA had a principal share. It is also suspected that the Sultana VALIDE may have used HASSAN to take vengeance for the dethronement of her son. It is said that she had relied on HUSSEIN to secure the succession of her grandson YOUSSEF, to whose service the Circassian HASSAN had lately been attached as aide-de-camp. The solution of these mysteries is only important as it may give a personal or a political character to events which are otherwise merely subjects of curiosity. If HUSSEIN had been the victim of a conspiracy by his political rivals, the prospect of improvement in Turkey would be hopeless. The immediate consequences of the tragedy may perhaps increase the chance of peace. HUSSEIN PASHA was the consistent advocate of a vigorous suppression of the insurrection, though he may perhaps not have objected to ulterior measures for the benefit of the Christian population. If his counsels had been successfully followed six months ago, it is probable that many subsequent complications would have been avoided. Neither Russia nor Austria was then prepared to defend the insurgents of Herzegovina against Turkish force; but HUSSEIN'S policy of carrying the war into Servia and Montenegro would almost certainly have involved a collision with Russia. The Governments of both principalities are directed by Russian agents, sometimes in the character of cosmopolitan philanthropists distributing charitable funds, and of late as officers in the Servian or Montenegrin service. It is also doubtful whether the Turkish army would in the first campaign be strong enough to defeat in a war of invasion the armed population of the two provinces. The opinions which are attributed to MIDHAT PASHA seem, even in the interest of Turkey, to be preferable to those of his late colleague and opponent. It is understood that he is free from the ordinary Turkish prejudices against the Christians; and in a provincial Government he seems to have succeeded in inspiring confidence in all classes of the population. Even a statesman of less intelligence could hardly fail to understand that all the

benefit which has been derived from fortune and from diplomacy consists in a respite of limited duration from foreign interference. MIDHAT PASHA and the GRAND VIZIER will probably be anxious to make use of the interval; but their task is difficult, though perhaps not desperate.

The constitutional projects which are attributed to MIDHAT will almost certainly fail, if they are too ambitious. It may be desirable to restrain the arbitrary power of the SULTAN by the institution of some kind of Assembly or Council which may exercise a superintendence over certain branches of administration, and especially over the finances; but the establishment of a representative system in Turkey is neither desirable nor possible. Two distinct races, even when they are not divided by mutual hostility, cannot legislate for one another or for the whole community. The experience of the present generation has produced more than one illustration of the unfitness of common Parliamentary representation for different countries and provinces. The disruption of the Danish monarchy was the direct and inevitable result of the abolition of the absolute power of the KING; and the separation of Austria and Hungary furnished a comment on the present EMPEROR'S well-intended scheme for the common representation of the entire monarchy. A more complete analogy to the case of Turkey may be found on a small scale in Jamaica, where colonial Englishmen at last assented to the surrender of constitutional rights which had become impracticable in consequence of the emancipation of the negroes. A Mussulman Parliament would be more obnoxious and more formidable to the Christians than an absolute Sultan, who might perhaps regard with equal solicitude all classes of his subjects. On the other hand, a Legislature in which the Christians were represented in proportion to their numbers would not command the respect or obedience of the Ottomans or of the indigenous Mussulman population. There is no reason to suppose at present that MIDHAT PASHA is a pedant or a dreamer; and judgment on his measures may fairly be suspended until he has had the opportunity of proposing them.

The interest of England in the Eastern question is above all things to maintain European peace. No other Power has so long and so consistently urged upon the Turkish Government the duty and the expediency of relieving the Christian subjects of the Empire from oppression. The main result of English influence has been the promulgation of equitable laws, which have unfortunately seldom been enforced. The Christian population feels less gratitude for the benevolent intentions of England than for the provocations to revolt which have periodically proceeded from Russia; yet the acknowledgment of legal rights, even when they have not been realized in practical administration, is a considerable advantage. A Minister of a provincial Government who is disposed to do his duty can always appeal to the authority of the Sultan's decrees. The majority of Englishmen would perhaps sympathize with successive insurrections against Turkish rule, but for two weighty reasons. No plausible plan has yet been devised for the security of the Mussulman population if the Government of the Porte were overthrown; and it is impossible to approve of projects of Russian aggrandizement. If any Turkish province can establish its independence by its own efforts, it will not have to complain of the adverse intervention of England. No politician who has paid serious attention to Eastern questions needed Lord DERBY'S late disavowal of any guarantee of the sovereignty of the Porte against its subjects; but he perhaps judged rightly in correcting a

delusion which may be carelessly entertained. Half a century ago, when foreign politics were influenced by theories and motives which have since become obsolete, it was never suggested that the English Government should aid the Porte in suppressing the Greek insurrection. In modern times it is still less conceivable that any English Minister should use the national forces against Bosnian or Bulgarian rebels. Servia itself, notwithstanding its practical independence, is not diplomatically regarded as a sovereign State; and consequently any contest in which Servia may be engaged with Turkey would be considered a civil war. In dealing with foreign Powers it is necessary to be guided by general considerations of policy and right which are not applicable to the domestic quarrels of Turkey.

The latest events and rumours which affect the Turkish question are but moderately reassuring. The Servian army is still apparently ready to cross the border; and the mission which the Government of the Principality had agreed to send to Constantinople seems to be suspended. It is naturally inferred that the Servians must be acting under the direction of Russia; but it is possible that local factions and intrigues may explain rapid vacillations of policy. Expressions of a dissatisfied or menacing nature which are attributed to Prince GORTCHAKOFF or to General IGNATIEFF may be safely regarded as apocryphal. Statesmen and diplomatists are not in the habit of communicating their serious purposes to journalists who profess to report their conversation. There is reason to suppose that the Emperor ALEXANDER, with whom the decision of peace or war ultimately rests, is disinclined to a rupture with Turkey at the present moment. If it is true that a new version of the Berlin Note is in preparation, negotiation will afford opportunity for delay. A year's experience of the complications which arise from the present state of affairs in Turkey has probably convinced the majority of European Governments that the policy of encouraging insurrections is dangerous and doubtful. At the same time it cannot be denied that the Great Powers have become in some degree responsible for the concession of equitable terms to the insurgents, and for the observance of the promises which have been made by the Porte. The pretext for the Berlin Memorandum which was founded on the non-performance by the Turkish Government of the terms of the ANDRASSY Note was unreasonable and vexatious. Nothing practical could be done during the continuance of the insurrection, which had through the whole of the interval been kept alive by the aid of Servia and Montenegro at the instigation of Russia. The Porte is still bound, by its acceptance of the ANDRASSY Note, to improve the condition of its Christian subjects. All attempts to fuse by constitutions or other contrivances the different races and religions into one political community will be entirely wasted; yet it is possible that, simultaneously with the revival of their own national and religious enthusiasm, the Mahometans themselves may have learned that it is for their own interest to deprive unfriendly neighbours of a permanent excuse for interference.

THE EXTRADITION CORRESPONDENCE.

THE publication of the correspondence on the cases of LAWRENCE and WINSLOW coincides with the death of the upright and able magistrate who exercised jurisdiction in all matters relating to extradition. As chief Police Magistrate, Sir THOMAS HENRY not only administered criminal law, but advised and assisted the Home Office on all questions relating to his department. When he was employed in the negotiation of some of the extradition treaties he showed that he possessed diplomatic as well as judicial ability. An admirable temper, a courteous and engaging manner, and a vigorous intellect entitled him to the regard of his colleagues, to public esteem, and to the confidence of successive Ministers. Some of the most important letters in the recent correspondence were addressed by Sir THOMAS HENRY to Mr. CROSS. The discharge of WINSLOW, who had been arrested for extradition on the demand of the American Government, was an unavoidable result of the conflicting opinions of the two Governments. WINSLOW had been more than once remanded on the application of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, in the hope that the American SECRETARY of STATE might be induced to enter into some arrangement which would enable the English

Government to grant the extradition of the prisoner. As Mr. FISH has declined to give the undertaking required by the English Government, not only the process against the accused person, but the article of the Treaty of 1842 which provides for extradition is virtually at an end. Two or three other alleged criminals will profit in the same manner by the difference of opinion which has unfortunately arisen. There was nothing special in the case of WINSLOW, nor was there any reason to suppose that he would be tried on any other charge than that on which his extradition was demanded. The refusal of the English Government to grant extradition is general in its terms; and, as there is no chance of a concession on the American side, extradition is abolished or suspended until some new treaty is concluded. The difficulty which has occurred arose in the case of LAWRENCE, who was some time since surrendered on preliminary proof of forging a certain bond and an affidavit. It appeared that LAWRENCE was charged with frauds on the Customs department of enormous amount; and that the forgeries were said to have been committed in the course of his operations. His English solicitors having represented to the Home Office that it was intended to try LAWRENCE not only for forgery, but on charges of conspiracy and smuggling, Lord DERBY, at the request of Mr. CROSS, instructed Sir EDWARD THORNTON to protest at the proper time against the prosecution of the prisoner on any other charges than those on which the extradition had been granted. In the controversy which ensued, the Foreign Office seems merely to have served as a channel for the representations of the HOME SECRETARY, who from the first held a strong opinion in favour of the most limited construction of the treaty. "It was always," he said, "taken for granted by the magistrate that the provisions of the Extradition Act were well known to the American authorities, and that in their application for extradition they recognized such provisions and proceeded under them." Mr. CROSS agreed with Lord DERBY that it would be desirable to avoid a discussion if LAWRENCE were tried and convicted for the forgery; but he apprehended that in the actual circumstances it would be necessary to make an earlier protest. "Mr. CROSS feels that this question of the right of asylum is one above all others on which public opinion would with justice be highly sensitive." Mr. CROSS's opinion on all subjects connected with the administration of justice is entitled to respect; but something might be said for the contrary proposition. The right of asylum for foreign criminals is one above all others on which public opinion has the smallest possible occasion to be sensitive.

On inquiry, Sir EDWARD THORNTON was informed that the United States Government would first try LAWRENCE for the extradition crime, and that, if he should be acquitted, they would then consider their future course. Mr. CROSS nevertheless still pressed for a clearer understanding on a point on which he seems himself never to have entertained a doubt. He was fully convinced that the Act of 1870 was strictly consistent with the treaty which had long before provided for the surrender of criminals to be tried for the crime charged in the demand of extradition. On a literal construction of the treaty the arguments of Mr. FISH seem to confute Mr. CROSS's interpretation. The provision that an accused person shall be surrendered on preliminary proof that he has committed certain offences is not incompatible with a right to prosecute him on any other charge. The treaty imposed a duty on the surrendering State without restricting the jurisdiction of the State which obtained the surrender. The practice and the tacit understanding on both sides appear, on the other hand, to have supported Mr. CROSS's contention. Even in the disputed case of LAWRENCE, the American Government was evidently anxious to confine the prosecution to the extradition charge, although it refused to give an undertaking which perhaps it might not have been able to perform. Mr. FISH told Sir EDWARD THORNTON that, although LAWRENCE had been indicted for a number of other forgeries, he had not been arraigned upon them, or called upon to plead, and that the District Attorney for the State of New York hoped to obtain a conviction on the original charge. The indictment, in fact, contained counts for forgeries of certain Customs entries; but the legal adviser of the English Legation expressed an opinion that there was no substantial variation from the charges which had been proved in London. The defendant declined to plead to the additional counts; but

the Court overruled the objection, and ordered that pleas of Not Guilty should be entered on his behalf. The Judge naturally declined to notice an allegation, which nevertheless seems to have been true, that the District Attorney of New York included the objectionable counts in the indictment, in contradiction to the express orders of the PRESIDENT and the ATTORNEY-GENERAL. It is not the business of a criminal court to inquire how a prisoner was brought within its jurisdiction, or whether a prosecutor whose proceedings are formal and regular has violated some extraneous obligation.

The action of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL and of his Government was creditable to their moderation and good faith. Mr. PIERREPOINT, having been retained for LAWRENCE before his accession to office, was unable in the first instance to take a part in the proceedings, of which the conduct therefore devolved on the SOLICITOR-GENERAL. When Mr. PIERREPOINT himself intervened, his instructions to the District Attorney would have prevented all dispute if they had been loyally obeyed. "I now repeat," he said, "what 'I have heretofore written with 'carefulness and urgency,' and what I carefully tried to impress upon you when I saw you, that, for grave political reasons, LAWRENCE must first be tried upon the charges upon which he was extradited, and upon no other until that trial is ended; and whether subsequent proceedings for other crimes shall or shall not be taken must await the order of the PRESIDENT. Now, upon an examination of the papers, it is perfectly easy for you and the Court to determine upon what charge LAWRENCE was extradited, and to proceed to try on that charge and that only. This is a matter of great importance, and you must not blunder in it. There are consequences involved in it of a serious nature, as I have already told you, and we want to proceed in strict conformity with international law and international courtesy; therefore I merely add, try him first upon the charge for which he was extradited, and for that only. This instruction is so specific and definite that it does not seem possible that an honest mistake can be made in this matter." Whether the direct disobedience to an order issued in the name of the PRESIDENT was due to an honest mistake is a question in which foreigners have no right to interfere. The District Attorney of New York has contrived to raise the issue which has resulted in the suspension of the practice of extradition. Mr. FISH, though he had shown statesmanlike prudence in his solicitude to avoid a controversy, has since insisted on the right of the American Government to unconditional extradition of criminals. Between the United States and England the question depends exclusively on the terms of the Treaty, and it seems impossible to dispute the correctness of Mr. FISH's interpretation. The minor dispute on the clauses of the perversely ill-drawn Act of 1870 is no longer important. Mr. CROSS, with good reason, differs from the opinion of a Canadian Court which has decided that the deliberate prohibition of unconditional surrender was overruled by the vague language of the 27th Section. Even if the Legislature had succeeded in stultifying itself, the rights of a foreign State can be in no way affected by a municipal statute.

The obvious remedy for the untoward consequences of the discussion is the conclusion of a new and improved treaty. Both Governments recognize the expediency of an arrangement; but they have not thus far been able to agree on the terms. It is perhaps unlucky that the negotiation on the English side is controlled by Mr. CROSS, who shares, as he himself says, the national sensitiveness on the right of asylum. It would be more reasonable to be sensitive to the inconvenience of attracting and maintaining all the rascally swindlers who may find the United States too hot to hold them; nor is the impunity which will be secured to indigenous rogues altogether reassuring. There seems to be no valid objection to Mr. FISH's proposal that persons surrendered by warrant of extradition shall be liable to prosecution for any offences on which a demand for extradition could have been founded. In the domestic administration of justice no similar scruple prevails. A criminal who is now undergoing his sentence on a conviction for being accessory after the fact to murder was first taken into custody on a charge of deserting his wife and family. The English Government has no interest in securing to an American forger impunity for a burglary by which he may perhaps have varied his occupation. Extreme solicitude for the retention of criminals was more intelligible in the mythical and sparsely inhabited king-

dom of ROMULUS than in Great Britain, which is sufficiently populous. Another difficulty which impedes an agreement on the terms of the new treaty might perhaps also be resolved by the adoption of Mr. FISH's suggestion. It seems more reasonable to entrust the discretion of refusing extradition on the ground that the accused person may be charged with a political offence to the Secretary of State than to the chief magistrate at Bow Street. On this point the decision of the Executive Government ought to be absolute and final. It is right to admit that, from the first letter in the correspondence to the PRESIDENT's recent Message to Congress, the American Government has been courteous and temperate in the maintenance of propositions which Mr. CROSS and Lord DERBY have not successfully confuted. The United States could not be expected to modify the treaty for the sole purpose of reconciling it with an Act of Parliament which was inconsistent with the international contract. It may be hoped that, after no long interval, it may be found possible to obtain Parliamentary sanction to a greatly improved treaty.

THE SHAH INCOGNITO.

PLEASANT, if unfounded, rumour tells us that our friend the SHAH is coming again to Europe, but this time he is to hide the full blaze of his glory and of his jewels. He is coming incognito. We shall not see that famous coat displayed in public, and it will not be thought a necessary mark of respect to dog him wherever he goes. His precise object in returning in a comparatively humble way to the theatre of his former triumphs is not stated, but it may be conjectured that his principal wish is to get away from Persia. It must be owned that those who have looked behind the scenes, and ascertained what Persia is really like, do not picture it as at all a desirable place to live in even for the SHAH. The English public has been recently indebted to Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD for a detailed and graphic sketch of Persia as it is in the current year, and the reader of Mr. ARNOLD's instructive pages will gather that the sun looks down on few regions more utterly miserable than the land of the SHAH. It cannot even be said that all is divine there except the spirit of man; for Persia is cursed with the most detestable of all forms of climatic wretchedness—icy cold in winter, and blazing heat in summer. Still Persia has been great, and man so far conquered nature as to thrive there once in prosperity and power. Now everything is fast lapsing into ruin. The only possible consolation which the philanthropist can find in thinking of the Persians is to learn that there are so few of them. It is the most uninhabited of inhabited countries. On the main road the traveller may journey for thirty miles at a stretch without seeing a human being, and Mr. ARNOLD calculates that the total population does not exceed two millions and a half. Even this, however, is a large number of human beings to be hopelessly and perpetually wretched; and all the inhabitants of Persia seem to be as wretched as the nature of man will permit, except the few lucky people who have got hold of the right end of the stick, and are the oppressors of their countrymen. No doubt oppression, if constant, systematic, and ingenious, has its charms for its perpetrators; and the petty tyrants of Persian society are masters of their craft. They hire a district from the SHAH, and they get out of it the last farthing that torture can extract from the cultivators of the soil. When an additional excuse for severity is afforded by the duty of repressing alleged crime, the sternness of the Persian character comes out in all its grandeur. Mr. ARNOLD tells us of one Governor who had a way of encasing his victims in brick cylinders up to their necks, and then pouring in plaster of Paris to harden round their bodies; and of some extraordinarily vexatious persons who, having strayed into the paths of heterodoxy and attempted the life of the SHAH, were punished by having slits made in their bodies, into which lighted candles were inserted. Under such a rule cultivation and commerce are almost extinct, and Persia will soon scarcely be able to afford a candle when it wants to startle criminals. It has lately been using up its last resource by exporting its coinage. All the gold is gone, and almost all the silver. When we read a description of this state of things, we naturally recur in memory to the grand project for railways, and to the other gorgeous features of the concession with which Baron REUTER dazzled us when the SHAH was here. The same

thought occurred to Mr. ARNOLD, and his practical observation led him to the conclusion that railways in Persia are not likely to be remunerative, there being absolutely no passengers whatever, mules sufficing for the scanty goods traffic, and the chief towns being adroitly disposed so that to connect any two of them it is necessary to pass over a chain of mountains largely formed of particularly hard stone.

One thing, and one thing only, to make life bearable the SHAH really possesses. There seems no end to his jewels. He has got so many that, in sheer despair of discovering any more appropriate use for them, he has had a huge globe covered with precious stones; and it is pleasant to hear that he has bright thoughts of London and Paris, and has had the spaces allotted to England and France encrusted with diamonds. Otherwise the SHAH must be one of the most forlorn of princes. His kingdom is long past reforming, and all he can do is to pocket the sums at which the privileges of oppression are purchased. It was only with great difficulty, and by condemning him to temporary disgrace, that he saved the life of his favourite Minister and travelling companion. For the SHAH is in his turn a slave. If the Persians are nothing else, they are zealous according to the fashion of their religion, and the mollahs add a fierce spiritual tyranny to the secular tyranny of lay plunderers. The SHAH was, however, sufficiently stirred by all he had seen and learnt in Europe to wish to do something for his subjects. He could not bear to come home and let things go on precisely as they had done before he went so far and for so long a time to improve his mind. He accordingly instituted Boxes of Justice, into which any one who had a complaint to make might insert a summary of his grievances. This broad project of reform was, however, paralysed by the wicked people against whose iniquities it was directed; for they adopted the simple plan of waiting outside the Box of Justice, and punishing every one who ventured to put anything into it. The SHAH was thus checkmated. He had done all he could for his country. The Boxes of Justice were a failure, and nothing else occurred to him. It is at once very comic and very melancholy to think that this was the real issue of the SHAH's travels. We can all remember how much was done to improve and instruct and encourage him here, to how many galleries and museums and workshops he was taken, with how many eminent statesmen he was enabled to go through some form of conversing. And then, when he got back, and the fruit of teaching and meditation was to appear, he set up boxes for poor people to put petitions in, which were to come straight to him, so that he might really understand the wants of his country. But the petitioners were frightened away from the boxes, and then the SHAH had no other resource left. Everything, he felt, must once more go on in its old forlorn course; and he could only testify by an accumulation of diamonds on his globe to the superiority of customs and government which he had observed in England and France.

In India, as those who know the history of Sir SALAR JUNG will understand, we have, and we discharge, the satisfactory and inspiring duty of making Mahometan Governments better. We supersede them as in Oude, or we improve them as at Hyderabad. We put down oppression, we give security of life and property. A Mahometan reformer like Sir SALAR JUNG can, by the pressure of our influence and the light of our example, do something very different for his countrymen from the poor SHAH's Boxes of Justice. But out of India England, from the force of circumstances, and in the necessary interests of self-protection, is engaged far beyond her wishes in the barren, dreary, saddening task of keeping up decaying, unimproving, oppressive Mahometan Governments, in order that commanding positions may not fall into the hands of enemies. In Persia the influences of England and Russia are always contending, and however much we may dislike to have to own it, the influence of England steadily wanes before the influence of Russia. The Caspian is now a Russian lake, although the southern shore belongs to the SHAH. The Persians in their hopeless misery see that, so far as the Russian boundary extends, life and property are secure; the cultivator reaps the produce of the soil, the tyranny of the mollah and the tax-farmer is unknown, and everywhere there appears a tyranny which, if stern, is at least beneficent. On Persia itself Russia forces such small amount of commerce as the poverty of the country will permit. The Persians are made in all the northern dis-

tricts to trade exclusively with Russia, and, by an adroit manipulation of Customs duties, and still more by the Russian Government insisting that all debts due to its traders shall be promptly paid, Russian traders can thrive where other foreign traders would lose money, and the productions of Russian industry are successfully thrust on the Persian market. Russia is near, and England is far off; and while Russia could occupy the northern districts of Persia without anything more than the shadow of a resistance to overcome, England could only maintain the integrity of Persia by success in a general war which might compel Russia to recede for a time. The Persians, or at least the leading Persians, may be credited with a wish to remain in independence. It would be a shock to their pride, and a greater shock to their religious feelings, to see the boundaries of a Mahometan Government narrowed and the boundaries of a Christian Government enlarged. They therefore cling in a feeble and general way to the support of England as the only Power willing and able to protect them. But in daily life the pressure of Russia is too strong, with Persian commerce at its command, with an overpowering military force always ready to dictate, and with the dangerous contrast of decent administration to offer just over the border. It is of no use to ignore facts. Persia, while independent, cannot become Russian in feeling; but Russian supremacy is overshadowing Persia, and one reason why the spell of Russian mastery is felt is that the advance of Russia insensibly presents itself to thousands of the most miserable of mankind as the only refuge from their misery of which they can dream.

THE EDUCATION DEBATE.

MR. FORSTER'S opinion of the Government Education Bill was necessarily an important feature in the debate on the second reading. He is the author of an Act under which, in connexion with the already existing machinery, the elementary education of the country has been carried on for the last five years; and, in spite of all the faults that have been found with it, no idea of repealing that Act has been entertained on either side of the House. The present Bill may alter the proportions of the main elements on which the Act of 1870 rests, but it does not propose absolutely to repeal any of its important provisions, while it contains proposals for applying a different sort of pressure to those districts in which the pressure provided by the Act has been found to be inoperative, and for relaxing the pedantic obligation of creating School Boards which characterized the measure of the late Government. It is natural, therefore, for those who have consistently supported the Act of 1870 against assailants, whether on the Conservative or the Liberal side, to turn to Mr. FORSTER for information as to the extent to which the provisions of the Bill fulfil the professions of the Government which has brought it forward. His speech on Monday contained many valuable suggestions for the amendment of the Bill in Committee; but the gist of his criticism was that the extension of the present system which Lord SANDON proposes does not go so far as it might. Lord SANDON finds that, under the law as it is now, a very large number of children remain without education. There are two ways in which this state of things might be dealt with. One is to make the powers of enforcing school attendance which School Boards or other authorities may assume if they like universal and imperative. The other is to provide some less stringent mode of enforcing attendance in districts in which there is no disposition to put these powers in force. Mr. FORSTER is strongly in favour of the former course. He has convinced himself that the system of direct compulsion may safely be extended over the whole kingdom, and, as between equally feasible alternatives, he naturally inclines to the one which is most logical and simple. But the relative merits of direct and indirect compulsion are not really under consideration. The position of the Government is substantially this:—We are anxious to extend the scope of the Act of 1870, but we will only consent to do so in our own way. Our way is to give Town Councils and Boards of Guardians the same powers of making by-laws for enforcing school attendance that are already enjoyed by School Boards. Beyond that we will not introduce direct compulsion, except in cases where indirect compulsion has been tried and failed. Where it has been tried and failed we are ready to resort to direct

compulsion. To say that this is a less satisfactory mode of dealing with the subject than to introduce direct compulsion in the first instance everywhere is only another way of saying that the Conservative way of looking at the question is not so good as the Liberal way of looking at it. That may or may not be true, but it is not much to the purpose. The country has taken to itself a Conservative Government, and the meaning of this choice is that it likes Conservative methods of legislation better than Liberal methods. If it had been filled with strong convictions about direct compulsion, it would not have brought about a change of Ministry one result of which was to substitute Lord SANDON for Mr. FORSTER. The wisest course that a practical politician can take is to accept the Bill for what it is worth, and to do all that he can to make it worth as much as possible.

We question whether, from this point of view, Mr. FORSTER attaches enough importance to the 7th Clause of the Bill. Lord SANDON's speech on Monday seems completely to bear out the view we have taken of the extent and meaning of this provision. It is meant, he says, to be a stringent one, and its intention is "that no 'child from five to ten'—the *Times*' report makes Lord SANDON say 'from seven to ten,' but a reference to the clause shows this to be an error—'shall be able to be continuously and without reasonable excuse kept away from instruction of some kind or other. It is intended, 'if he is not sent to school continuously and habitually, 'that then the strong compulsory power shall come in. 'The clause gives the power of direct compulsion.'" Lord SANDON next meets the objection that the clause may not be carried out. Those who raise this difficulty, he says, forget the later clauses of the Act. "These clauses give 'the Education Department the right to supersede the local authority, and send agents down and pay them out of the 'rates, and keep them there for two years to see that direct 'compulsion is carried out in the locality.'" If the 7th Clause is interpreted in this sense, all the direct compulsion that is really necessary is obtained. It may be convenient that the Town Councils and parishes shall have power under the 6th Clause to make bylaws respecting the attendance of children at school as if they were a School Board; but even without this permission the ultimate motive power of the Bill would be direct compulsion. In the first instance, the child is forbidden to work unless he has been to school, and it is hoped that his parents will see the disadvantages of this prohibition so keenly that they will take care to send him to school. But in the event of this indirect method failing, the direct method must invariably be resorted to, unless the local authorities are prepared to set the Education Department at defiance. The Education Department, according to Lord SANDON, will have the same power of dealing with a local authority that allows a child between five and ten to be continuously, and without reasonable excuse, kept away from school, which it will have over a local authority that allows a child to go to work without a labour pass; and that power is a power of superseding the local authority, and sending agents down to see that direct compulsion is carried out.

If Lord SANDON were charged with the interpretation as well as with the preparation of this Bill, we should be content to leave the matter at this point. It is necessary, however, to remember that when the Bill has become law, the meaning of this 7th Clause will have to be determined, not by reference to Lord SANDON's speeches, but by the construction which the Courts will put upon its actual words. From this point of view the clause in its present form is not beyond the need of improvement. Supposing that the Education Department, having been warned by one of their Inspectors that within the jurisdiction of such or such a local authority there are several parents keeping their children away from instruction, proceed to declare that local authority in default, will it not be open to the Courts to say that the Education Department are reading the clause as if it ran, "If a parent neglect to give 'his child instruction, then it shall be the duty of the 'local authority to get an order to send that child to 'school,'" whereas it really runs, "If it shall appear to the 'local authority that a parent neglects to give his child 'instruction"? Will not the Courts be likely to say, further, that it must give effect to the words "if it shall appear" as well as to any other words in the clause, and that, if effect is given to them, the Education Department have no power to declare a local authority in default unless they can show that it does appear to that authority that a parent is neg-

lecting to give his child instruction and that it refuses to act on this conviction? If this should be the interpretation put on the clause, it might as well never have been inserted in the Bill. So long as a local authority keeps its own counsel, no one can possibly prove that anything has appeared to it. It may be shown that something ought to have appeared to it, and that upon this appearance it ought to have taken certain steps. But to show that it has appeared is another affair, and, unless these words are held to be so much surplusage, their presence will make the clause of no value. If they are mere surplusage, what is the use of retaining them? The 7th Clause will read much better without them. A law enacting that, if the parent of a child shall do one thing, it shall be the duty of the local authority to do another thing, is perfectly intelligible. The duty of the local authorities is proved by the same set of facts that prove the existence of the parents' neglect; and, if they omit to do their duty, the Education Department have their work marked out for them. On the other hand, to say that, if it shall appear to the local authority that a parent is doing one thing it shall be its duty to do something else, it may be necessary to prove a distinct set of facts—those, namely, that go to affect the local authority with the knowledge that the parent is neglecting his duty. When the omission of half-a-dozen words would apparently make the intention of the Act unmistakable, and, moreover, would make that intention precisely what Lord SANDON says it is meant to be, we fail to see sufficient reason for keeping them in.

We have left ourselves but little space for discussing the debate as a whole. But, in fact, it brought out very few novel views, while its interest culminated in the majority by which Mr. MUNDELLA's crude amendment was defeated. Whatever may be the personal reasons for Mr. DIXON's retirement from Parliament, the step, following so closely on Monday night's division, aptly symbolizes the fate which has befallen the aggressive League of which he was the mouthpiece.

THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION.

IF the people of the United States are satisfied with the machinery of their own Constitution, it is not the business of foreigners to object to results which may sometimes seem to them anomalous. The founders of the Republic expected that the PRESIDENT would always be one of the most eminent statesmen of the time; and during the life of the generation which had established national independence the anticipation was justified. WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, the elder ADAMS, MADISON, and MONROE were considered either by the whole community or by their respective parties to have performed great public services. In course of time the election, which was designed to be single, became practically divided into two, or rather into three. Each of the two great parties which are now represented by the Republicans and the Democrats found it necessary to unite in the choice of a single candidate; and the organization and management of the two nominating Conventions is a more elaborate business than the final trial of strength between the two parties. It scarcely ever happens in ordinary times that the nominees of the two parties are designated beforehand by general reputation or popularity. Mr. LINCOLN's conduct of the Government during the war and General GRANT's great military services made them exceptions from the general rule. The electoral practice has now reverted to its normal condition; and the apparently strange proceedings of the Republican Convention at Cincinnati are strictly conformable to precedent. If it were possible in England that the office of Prime Minister should be conferred by direct popular election, neither party, if other things remained as they are, would be embarrassed by conflicting claims of more than one or two candidates. For the most part the recognized leaders, whether they were PITT or FOX, or DISRAELI and GLADSTONE, would be preferred to rivals who had already acknowledged their superiority. American Conventions have passed over the claims of CLAY and WEBSTER; and Mr. LINCOLN was at his first election preferred to Mr. SEWARD because he was almost entirely unknown. At present there is no Republican or Democratic leader, and nearly all the candidates at Cincinnati may be regarded as nearly on a level; yet it is remarkable that the nominee represented no political section of the party, and that he had never been supposed, except by the astute managers of the election, to have a chance of success.

The introduction of Mr. DONALD CAMERON into the Cabinet on the appointment of Mr. PIERREPOINT to the English mission was interpreted by experienced politicians as a contrivance for securing the nomination of Mr. CONKLING. The connexion is not immediately obvious to strangers; but Mr. CAMERON's family has long exercised great local influence in Pennsylvania, and the father of the MINISTER OF WAR has always taken an active part in the operations which the reforming section of the Republican party condemns as corrupt. Mr. CONKLING, as one of the most skilful and successful manipulators of public patronage, is understood to have enjoyed the support of the PRESIDENT; and it was thought that the vote of Pennsylvania would be purchased for Mr. CONKLING by the promotion of Mr. CAMERON. The office-holders on whom Mr. CONKLING mainly relied are a powerful and active body, and they controlled in his interest the election of delegates from New York; but nevertheless the most conspicuous champion of the actual political system had, as it now appears, no chance of success. Mr. BLAINE, late Speaker of the House of Representatives, suddenly became the ostensible favourite of the regular politicians, though a section of the party professed to believe certain charges of corruption which were lately preferred against him in Congress, probably for the purposes of the election. Mr. MORTON, who is distinguished from Mr. CONKLING by still laxer notions on questions of currency and of public faith, had few supporters. Mr. BRISTOW was recommended by his exertions for the exposure and punishment of frauds on the public exchequer; and he has for the first time during General GRANT's term of office administered the Treasury on sound principles. The other candidates were thought to be proposed only for the purpose of obtaining complimentary votes from their respective States in the preliminary ballot. Mr. HARTRANFT was not seriously proposed by the delegation from Pennsylvania, and when Mr. HAYES of Ohio numbered sixty votes in several successive ballots, probably but few were in the secret of the combination by which Mr. BLAINE was eventually defeated. On the eve of the election Mr. BLAINE's friends attempted to form a coalition with Mr. BRISTOW, who was to receive the Vice-Presidency, with its chances of succession to the highest post; but Mr. BLAINE, though he was supported by the largest section of the Convention, was met by a stronger body of determined opponents. In one of the numerous ballots by which American Conventions, like Roman Conclaves, feel the strength of different parties and candidates, Mr. BLAINE obtained upwards of three hundred votes out of a total of seven hundred and sixty-five.

By some process of reasoning which belongs to the inner mysteries of American elections, the managers discerned at this point that Mr. BLAINE had polled his whole force, and that it only remained for his adversaries to choose among various combinations of the hostile majority. The meaning of the scattered votes at the previous ballots was not that the delegates preferred their ostensible candidates, but that they agreed in opposition to Mr. BLAINE. It was apparently also known that it would be impossible to unite the dissentients in favour of Mr. CONKLING, Mr. BRISTOW, or Mr. MORTON. The nomination of Mr. HAYES could give little offence to any party, and it probably secures for the Republicans at the choice of Presidential electors the powerful State of Ohio. It would be easy to develop an obvious analogy by recording the contest and the result in the picturesque dialect of the Turf; but there is a fundamental difference between Cincinnati and Epsom or Newmarket. Although owners, trainers, and jockeys have much in their power, the quality of the horses is still the principal element in the result of the race. In an American election the candidate is nothing; and his fortunes depend almost wholly on the skill of his experienced trainers and backers. Mr. HAYES may probably possess the merit for which politicians in the United States principally care. The party will put forth its strength to secure the return of a respectable candidate who has probably neither friends nor enemies outside his own State, and who has not been associated with political or pecuniary scandals.

The slightness of the influence which the President of the United States exercises on public policy is at the same time a consequence and a cause of the indifference of the people to the qualifications of candidates. It would be unreasonable to allow a wide discretion in the conduct of affairs to the nominee of a few obscure managers of election

machinery. When General GRANT was first elected, he thought, not unreasonably, that his personal claims would justify a more independent position. At that time he seriously wished to reform the administration, and he cherished a questionable desire for territorial aggrandizement. In attempts to improve the Civil Service he found himself powerless when he came into collision with the professional managers of the party; and the Senate, on sufficient grounds of policy and prudence, restrained his ambitious designs. General GRANT himself had improvidently assisted the Senate in imposing restrictions on his unpopular predecessor. On his own accession he found that the patronage of his office had to a great extent passed into the hands of the leaders of the majority in the Senate. It was only by establishing an understanding with the veterans of corruption that the PRESIDENT could surround himself with grateful or expectant clients, and provide for his friends and his family. The services which he has rendered to his party have not secured him a single vote for the re-election to which he once aspired. His successor will probably have to content himself with a single term of office. Mr. HAYES indeed will have served the purpose for which he has been selected if he wins the race against the Democratic nominee who is still to be chosen. The chances of success at present incline to the Republican side. The reaction against their party exhausted itself in the last election of members of Congress, and in the autumn elections of 1875 the Republicans had recovered their ascendancy. The Democrats are divided among themselves on the question of currency; and, although the section which supports specie payments will probably prevail, it is uncertain whether Western voters will support a candidate who is pledged against inflation. The Republican platform or declaration of principles is designedly vague and unmeaning. The Convention declared itself in favour of a return, at some indefinite time and by an unknown process, to specie payments. It also advocated the maintenance of good faith to the public creditor; and it once more committed the party to the barbarous system of protective duties. To a resolution against Chinese immigrants an objection was raised by a small minority on constitutional grounds; but the question was not whether a consistent policy should be adopted, but how to secure the vote of California for the party. The only issue which may perhaps be raised in the Presidential election is whether the National Debt shall be partially repudiated. The Republicans have, after much vacillation, determined to maintain public honesty, while a section of the Democrats, which may possibly become a majority, believes that more is to be got by bribing debtors than by satisfying creditors. If the Democratic Convention adopts the principles of Free-trade, it may lay for the party the foundation of future success.

PENAL JUSTICE.

EVERY day new questions arise as to crime and criminals—how we are to get hold of those who commit crimes, how we are to treat them when condemned, what are to be the limits within which punishment is to be confined. The last few days have shown us how wide is the range which these questions assume, and how various are the localities they affect. The controversy with the United States as to extradition illustrates the difficulty with which the most civilized nations make and maintain the arrangements necessary to prevent justice from being defeated by the ever-increasing facilities of modern locomotion. The Bill introduced by Lord SALISBURY for rendering the subjects of native Indian princes who engage in the African slave-trade punishable by the English Courts of Bombay shows how jealously we have to watch lest the immunities we have accorded to semi-barbarous States should shorten our own arm when it is intended to punish. Thursday night was mainly taken up in the House of Commons with the consideration of a measure the principal object of which is to ensure that prisoners throughout England shall be treated on a uniform system. The question of the proper limits of punishment always exercises a fascination over minds philanthropic, dreamy, or innovating; and in a single week the French Senate has discussed and rejected M. SCHULCHER's motion for the abolition of the punishment of death, the announcement has been made that the new Italian Minister of Justice only

accepted office on condition that he should be allowed to introduce a Bill for the same purpose, and Mr. TAYLOR has made an ineffectual protest against flogging in the navy. It is fortunate for legislators when any question of penal justice raises an issue so simple and so clear as that with which Lord SALISBURY proposes to deal. The slave-trade on the coast of Africa is almost entirely kept alive by foreign traders. If left to itself, it would soon die out; for if there were no market, no slaves would be brought down from the interior. Those traders who provide the capital and the organization necessary for the profitable pursuit of the business are for the most part natives of India, and it would seem to be equally incumbent on us and easy for us to punish them. But the High Court of Bombay has decided that it has no jurisdiction over such subjects of the native princes of India as engage in slave-dealing out of India. Not only are the subjects of these princes thus protected, but it becomes difficult to secure any conviction at all, as an alleged offender can set up the defence that he was born out of what is strictly English territory in India, and this is a statement much easier to make than to disprove. The simple object of Lord SALISBURY'S Bill is to give the Court of Bombay a general power to try for the offence of slave-dealing any native of any part of India. To such a measure no native prince can have any objection; and, in point of fact, the Rao of CUTCH, one of whose subjects was the alleged criminal released by the decision of the Bombay Court, did all he could to prevent the defeat of justice, although all he could do was to issue a proclamation which he had no power to enforce. He will now have the satisfaction of thinking that his own subjects will no longer be able to disregard his wishes and to escape the punishment they deserve.

The debate on the Prisons Bill opened a series of controversies which were conducted with more animation than the nature of the subject might have given reason to expect. The management of prisons is not in any way a battle-ground of political parties, and the opposition to Mr. CROSS'S Bill was signalized by the curious alliance of Mr. RYLANDS and Sir WILLIAM BARTHELOTT. Mr. CROSS proposes that the Imperial Government shall take charge of all the prisons in England and Wales, and he supports his proposal by arguments of undeniable force. As things stand now, there are in some places more officials in a prison than there are prisoners; leniency of treatment prevails in one county, severity in another; it is almost impossible for Visiting Justices to understand when they may act for themselves and when they require the sanction of the Home Secretary. Prison labour is conducted with such variations of system that it is partly remunerative in one place and almost entirely unproductive in another; and the classification of prisoners on any large scale is rendered impossible. On the other hand, it is owned that, if all prisons are placed under a central authority, there will be some loss of dignity and importance incurred by local magistrates. The ratepayers find the money for prisons, but then they have the consolation of thinking that persons of whom they know something manage the prisons; and although the Home Secretary has even now some power of interference, it is obvious that there could not be the great varieties of treatment and management which different prisons exhibit, unless the power of the Home Secretary were subjected to much practical restraint. When, accordingly, it is urged that local independence will suffer somewhat by the proposed change, the answer of the Government is that local independence shall be paid for the loss it sustains. It offers to relieve the ratepayers of an annual burden exceeding half a million sterling, and it confidently urges that, whatever else ratepayers may like or dislike, they at any rate must like that. The opponents of the Bill protest that they will not barter their heritage for a mess of pottage, and that it is much better for the ratepayers to bear the cost of prisons than to see impaired the authority and consequence of their true representatives, the magistrates. With a boldness which was at least creditable to his candour, Sir MASSEY LOPES, in defending the Government Bill, challenged his adversaries on a point which they had thought might be safely taken for granted. He denied that the magistrates were in any way the representatives of the ratepayers. They are in his eyes mere nominees of the Crown, and all that he could see in the Bill was that it substituted one set of Crown nominees for another. It was urged as a further argument against the Bill that, if

the Government were to take over the prisons, it might on precisely the same grounds take over lunatic asylums and the police; and more than one supporter of the Bill said that there could be no valid objection if the Government liked to go even as far as this. The whole discussion threw a light on the general views of the Government as to county administration which will probably receive the attention it deserves. The Government has been often accused of having forgotten its promise to deal with county administration, or at best of only dealing bit by bit with a great subject. It has, perhaps, a more definite aim than has been ascribed to it. It may see that any alteration of county administration must take the shape of giving increased power to persons elected by the ratepayers. But there are some things which touch too nearly the security of the whole country to be safely submitted to the varying views of elective bodies. If prisons, asylums, and police were in the hands of the central Government, elective bodies, it might be calculated, would not do much harm; and much the easiest way to get these advantages for the Government is to buy them gradually and quietly before a general scheme of county reform is proposed. It must be admitted that, if this is the main purpose of the Government, none but a Conservative Government could have a chance of carrying it into effect.

That the French Senate should have been invited to sanction a Bill for the abolition of capital punishment, and should have summarily refused, cannot surprise us in England, to whom all the arguments on the subject have been long familiar. It is much more important that a special Commission appointed at Rome by the Italian Minister of Justice has unanimously recommended that capital punishment should be abolished throughout Italy. As the views of the Minister were well known, and he nominated the Commissioners, it is not surprising that he should have received the Report he looked for. But, if the arguments by which capital punishment is generally supported have any solid foundation, Italy is one of the last countries where the experiment of abolition should be tried. The Correspondent of the *Times* who forwarded a summary of the Report proceeded to describe two murders which had recently been committed in Rome on almost the same spot. The murders were as deliberate, brutal, and reckless murders as could be imagined. Not only was there full deliberation and a set purpose, but in both cases the murderer had killed other persons who rushed to the spot when the cries of the first victim roused their attention. If death is looked on as the only appropriate punishment for murder, and life is to be taken for life, it is impossible to imagine any case in which the punishment could be more richly deserved. If, again, capital punishment is regarded as a deterrent, these Roman ruffians want deterring as much as any human beings could want it. The abolition of capital punishment began in Tuscany, where the manners of the people are proverbially mild, and murder is almost unknown. It is now to be applied to populations habitually brutal and lawless; and if they are improved by the assurance that they may murder as much as they please without the slightest risk to their own lives, the advocates of abolition will have won as signal a victory as they could desire. But it must not be supposed that the new system will replace a system under which murder is really punished with death. The Italian murderer knows that, even as things are now, there is but a very slight chance of his being executed. The Court of Cassation has just commuted the sentence of one of the very worst murderers that have ever attracted attention in Italy—a man whose crime awakened the deepest horror and indignation in a populace not inclined to view murder with too much indignation. If such a man is to be spared, if the popular belief that the righteous indignation of justice will replace the wild indignation of relatives and spectators is to be falsified in so glaring an instance, it is perhaps better that there should be no more mockery, and that capital punishment should be done away with altogether. If hereafter it is restored, it can scarcely fail to be restored in a shape which will permit its deterring effect to be really operative. We have seen something of the same failure of our system when we have had a weak Home Secretary; but with a firm Home Secretary, we know that in clear cases of extreme guilt the law will take its course. All our English experience goes to show that there are punishments which, if sparingly but strictly administered, will deter where nothing else will deter. This

was the answer of two successive First Lords of the Admiralty to Mr. TAYLOR when he proposed to abolish flogging in the navy. There are men so bad and so dead to gentler treatment that either they must be flogged or discipline in a ship is at an end. The cases of flogging in the navy are exceedingly few, and occur almost exclusively on foreign stations, where insubordination is peculiarly dangerous. We do not see why there should be the slightest pity felt for murderers like those of Rome, or for sailors whose insubordination is a peril to a whole service. To be executed or to be flogged is less than they deserve, rather than more, and much of the misplaced pity they occasionally awaken is due simply to the ignorance of people who do not come really into contact with crime, and do not realize into what atrocities of ruffianism human nature can sink.

M. BUFFET'S ELECTION.

M. BUFFET has been elected a life member of the Senate, and the Republican party have been almost as much excited as though the four constituencies which rejected him at the general election had come clothed in sackcloth to ask him to condescend to represent them. The alarm would have been less intelligible if he had been made a Senator by a department, since in that case it might have been argued that reactionary views were beginning to raise their head in the country. But an election by the Senate itself implies nothing as to the state of public opinion; it is, at the most, evidence of the state of opinion among the Senators. It is by no means certain, however, that it has even this latter significance. M. BUFFET has been Prime Minister; he is a man of high personal character; he is liked by Marshal MACMAHON; he has been a victim to his Conservative opinions. Here are four reasons which, taken together, seem to make his election by the Senate a very natural event. It is easy to understand that many Senators may have wished to see him restored to public life without at all desiring to see the present Ministry overturned. They may have thought that his election would please Marshal MACMAHON, or that it would be a proper homage to virtue in distress, or even that it would enliven the pre-eminent dullness of a Senator's Parliamentary life. This last consideration may perhaps have had more weight than people suppose. It is a terrible burden to belong to an elective Second Chamber which has nothing to do. If an English peer finds the House of Lords uninteresting, he is not obliged to attend the debates. But when a department has taken the trouble to elect a Senator, it expects him to do something in return for the honour. He must at least be present at the sittings of the Chamber and take part in its divisions. A man who is obliged to sacrifice himself in this way may be pardoned if he is anxious to make the sittings as amusing and the divisions as important as circumstances will allow; and when M. BUFFET appeared as a candidate for the seat left vacant by M. RICARD, an opportunity of doing this presented itself. No matter how inclined the Senators may be to magnify their office, they must be conscious that their doings have hitherto been of no interest to any one but themselves. Public affairs have gone on just as they would have gone on if there had been only a single Chamber. M. BUFFET's election has at all events wiped this reproach away. The Senate has been more talked about during this last week than in all the months that it has been in existence.

Whether it was wise in the Republican party or in the Government to minister to this feeling as they have done is another matter. Probably they were over-confident of victory in the first instance, and did not stop to remember that, while M. BUFFET himself could suffer very little from an additional defeat, his adversaries might suffer a good deal if, contrary to expectation, he should be successful. As the day of the election came nearer, and it became evident that the contest would be a close one, they may have been tempted to angle for wavering votes by representations of the tremendous consequences that might be expected to follow upon M. BUFFET's victory. In this way they found themselves by degrees committed to a more serious line upon the subject than they would have thought it prudent to take up in cold blood. As soon as the result was known, Versailles was filled with rumours of a Ministerial crisis. If the Government had just been beaten on a vote of want of confidence, the excitement could hardly have been greater. The Cabinet, it was said,

would resign, and Marshal MACMAHON would endeavour to govern by Ministers taken from the majority in the Senate. According to some accounts, the MARSHAL had himself favoured M. BUFFET's nomination. He was frightened at the Radicalism of M. DE MARCÈRE, and had convinced himself that the safety of France demanded a return to that Conservative policy which M. BUFFET had so persistently pursued. The wisest of these prophets avoided any immediate falsification of their predictions by making them depend on another event. M. BUFFET's election, they said, did not in itself necessitate the resignation of Ministers; it could only have this effect if it proved the forerunner of the defeat of the University Bill in the Senate. The Cabinet must command the confidence of both Chambers; and, if the only important measure which it has yet brought forward should be rejected in one of them, it could not continue to hold office. If this view of the situation were to be finally adopted, the difficulty of carrying on the Government would soon become insuperable. To say that a Cabinet must have a majority in two Chambers, chosen on different principles and by different electors, is to lay down a condition which is at once impossible to fulfil and unnecessary to exact. If parties are at all equally balanced in the Senate, the votes of the life members may carry the day, and the life members may represent nothing but a former state of feeling in the Senate. The very fact that the Cabinet expresses the opinion of the country would prevent it from expressing the opinion of the Senate. If it were to resign on every occasion on which it was defeated in the Second Chamber, what would be the advantage of being victorious in the popular Chamber? The inevitable result of such a doctrine would be a perpetual dead lock. A Cabinet which commanded the confidence of the Senate would not command the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies; a Cabinet which commanded the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies would not command the confidence of the Senate. One resignation must follow upon the heels of another, until at length the abolition of the Second Chamber would be demanded by an irresistible force of public opinion. Nor is it in the least necessary to the conception of a Second Chamber that the Cabinet should possess its confidence. It can discharge its true function of delaying legislation, and so giving the country time for reconsideration, just as well when it is opposed to the Government of the day as when it is on good terms with it. The ideal Second Chamber ought not to be a mere reproduction of the popular Chamber. It is essential that the Cabinet and the Chamber of Deputies should pull together, because the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies is the motive power of legislation; but it is not in any way essential that the Cabinet and the revising Chamber should pull together. The worst result that can happen from their quarrelling is that this or that Bill may fall through, and the possibility and propriety of this is conceded in the very existence of a revising Chamber.

Probably very little would have been said of any impending resignation of Ministers if the enemies of the Cabinet had not built their hopes on a supposed disagreement between Marshal MACMAHON and M. DUFAURE. Certainly it is not the fault of French politicians if the MARSHAL continues to govern constitutionally. The probability that he will not govern constitutionally is constantly conceded by all parties. The idea of a *coup d'état* is suggested to him whenever there is the least difficulty in the conduct of affairs, and it does real credit to his straightforwardness and honesty of purpose that it should be so steadily put aside. On this occasion the most confident statements were hazarded as to the MARSHAL's determination not to be drawn a single step further in the direction of Radicalism. He was said to have especially disliked the changes which M. RICARD and M. DE MARCÈRE had made in the administration of the Interior, and to have made up his mind that, rather than allow any further dismissals of Conservative prefects, he would accept M. DUFAURE's resignation, and take the consequences. How much of truth there was in these fancies was shown by the significant fact that four prefects in whose retention in office the MARSHAL was supposed to have specially interested himself have been dismissed during the week, and their places filled by Republicans of more decided opinions than any yet promoted by the Government. When once the theory of a disagreement between the Cabinet and the President is disposed of, the importance of M. BUFFET's election becomes very small. Indeed, the only considerable consequence that it now seems likely to have is one which is favourable to the present Cabinet.

The prospect of a majority in the Senate led by M. BUFFET, and embodying the views of the majority in the old Assembly, has very much modified the hostility of the Republicans to M. DUFAURE. Though they do not greatly like his policy, they at least like it better than any policy which the MARSHAL would be willing to accept, supposing that M. DUFAURE retired; and this preference makes it likely that their support of the Government will for the remainder of the Session be very much more hearty than it would have been if M. BUFFET had been defeated.

THE BARBADOES DISTURBANCES.

THERE is no account of further disturbances in Barbadoes; and the riots which occurred some weeks ago seem to have been attended with extenuating circumstances. The mobs which committed various acts of plunder and disorder appear to have abstained from taking life. Their leaders were probably as ignorant as themselves; and both may have been deluded into a belief that they were carrying out the wishes of the GOVERNOR. If they professed to desire Confederation, their comprehension of the phrase was probably as vague as that of the Russian malcontents who at the accession of NICHOLAS clamoured for a Constitution, which they supposed to be the name of the Grand Duke CONSTANTINE's wife. All that the misguided negroes understood was that a difference had arisen between the GOVERNOR and the planters; and they took the side of the adversary of the class which, possessing property and paying small wages, was represented to them as the cause of their sufferings. No further information has been received as to Mr. HENNESSY's conduct before the disturbances; and it may be assumed that the charges urged against him by the West India Committee have not been fully sustained. In a later proclamation he voluntarily states, probably for the purpose of correcting the popular prejudice, that the project of Confederation would neither affect the unsatisfactory state of the island nor relieve the distress of the population. It still remains to be ascertained whether his language justified the jealousy and irritation which were perhaps the immediate result of the agrarian riots. A political measure, such as the union for certain purposes of some adjacent islands, was necessarily addressed to the educated part of the community. It would have been absurd to appeal to negro labourers on a question which they could not possibly understand. Lord CAERNARVON had taken every precaution to guard against misunderstanding by referring the absolute decision to the local Legislature. It is possible that the GOVERNOR may have been more deeply impressed with the urgency of the measure than the SECRETARY OF STATE, who is compelled to distribute his attention over half the world. On the main question there can be little doubt that the sensitive colonists were in the wrong. Mr. HENNESSY has perhaps, for reasons of immediate expediency, somewhat underrated the bearing of political union on the economical causes which really produce popular discontent. It is at least possible that neighbouring communities would understand their own interest in relieving the difficulties of Barbadoes if the affairs of the colonies were discussed in a federal Assembly.

A Correspondent of the *Times* has explained, in an instructive letter, that the distress of Barbadoes is the inevitable result of excessive population. At the date of emancipation and long afterwards the planters in the island were exceptionally prosperous, because the whole of the soil was held in private property, while an abundant population had no means of subsistence except wages. In Jamaica and some other colonies the liberated slaves preferred to satisfy their simple wants by cultivating the land on which they squatted; and coolies were imported at a heavy cost of money and of controversy to do the work which had no attraction for the negroes. Since that time the population of Barbadoes has doubled, while the demand for labour has apparently not increased. Wages have consequently fallen, and, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil and the genial nature of the climate, the working classes suffer chronic distress. It is not difficult to believe that the white minority which naturally exercises political power has been careless in respect to the social and economic wants which properly belong to the province of local administration. Several successive Governors had anticipated the remonstrances by which

Mr. HENNESSY has provoked the indignation of the planters; and it is possible that persons and classes may sometimes have been held responsible for evils which were economically unavoidable. No community of employers will permanently raise wages above the level which is determined by the balance of supply and demand; nor perhaps could the Barbadoes colonists, even if they had been liberally inclined, have afforded to augment largely the cost of raising their produce. On the other hand, it may readily be believed that they have profited to the best of their ability by the needy condition of the labouring population.

The moral state of the negroes appears to be in many ways unsatisfactory. It seems that, forty years after the abolition of slavery, marriage has not yet become a popular institution, and that relations exist which are compendiously designated as profligate. Whatever may be the customs of the negroes, it would seem that they tend rather to promote than to limit the increase of population; for it is also said that the barbarous practice of infanticide is widely prevalent. The Irish in the time of their greatest distress, as at the present day, were singularly exempt from the vices which are attributed to the negroes, and it is unnecessary to add that infanticide was unknown. The excess of population in Ireland was closely connected with the universal habit of early marriages, but the economic result of opposite practices seems in both countries to have been the same. The most obvious remedy in both cases is emigration; and the superfluous labour of Barbadoes might probably find an outlet in almost any part of the West Indies. It might perhaps be difficult to convince the owners of property that it would be for their interest to promote a movement which would have both the object and the consequence of raising the rate of wages; but the alarm which was naturally produced by the riots may perhaps suggest the expediency of great social changes. The most intolerant West Indian champion of the rights of property cannot but admit that in some manner the inhabitants of the island must be kept alive. If the capital disposable for the employment of labour is insufficient, the removal of the whole or part of the surplus population would diminish the burden. If no colonial funds can at present be procured in Barbadoes for the encouragement of emigration, it may probably be worth the while of importers of labour in other colonies to offer inducements to settlers accustomed to industry. It is of course possible that immigrants might become squatters; but it has always been the policy of the larger West Indian settlements to promote population. In a letter signed by several clergymen and missionaries, it is stated that provisions were abundant when the riots commenced; but the seasons of actual distress and of political disturbance seldom coincide. Habitual discontent takes the form of violence through the operation of external causes, such as the popular belief that the GOVERNOR had sanctioned a redistribution of property.

Although indignant patriots in Barbadoes as in larger communities talk loudly about constitutional rights, it is doubtful whether, after the recent collision between the two races, representative government will continue to be practicable. The present system is recommended by respectable antiquity, but it was founded for the benefit of one dominant class which had in all respects common interests. The enfranchisement of the slaves altered or reversed all the conditions of the experiment. In a West Indian colony, as in a Southern State of the American Union, it would be intolerable that the inferior race should exercise permanent supremacy by reason of numerical preponderance. By force or contrivance the whites have already in almost all parts of the former Confederacy resumed the power of which they had been temporarily deprived. The Federal authority and the public opinion of the entire nation will probably give the coloured people sufficient security against extreme oppression. In Barbadoes the owners of property have so managed an extended suffrage as to control the Legislature; but it is possible that under some astute leader the coloured majority might at a future election reverse the balance of power. The English colonists would assuredly not be constrained by the letter of any Constitution to obey a Legislature and Government chosen by the negroes. For the present the mass of population has no confidence in an Assembly which primarily regards the rights and interests of the planters. Within a few years after emancipation the Assembly of Jamaica defeated in Parliament a proposal made by Lord MELBOURNE's Government to govern the island as a Crown

colony. Thirty years later the entire community, after the experience of the disturbances of 1865, willingly accepted the form of government which had previously been denounced; and from that time the colony has enjoyed perfect tranquillity, and has steadily increased in prosperity. No English Minister willingly reduces the area of Parliamentary government; but the prejudice of a former generation against various methods of administration is becoming obsolete. It is not improbable that a dictatorship will be the only effectual mechanism by which conflicting interests can be reconciled in Barbadoes.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S APOLOGY.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN having, after a fashion, apologized for the gross and vulgar abuse which he bestowed on Mr. DISRAELI the other day at a meeting of the Birmingham School Board, it is pleaded by his friends that the language attributed to him "may properly be considered unsaid." It is a good rule, no doubt, that hot language in debate, when frankly admitted and regretted, should be passed over. But it may be questioned whether Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's apology is of a satisfactory kind. He says that he "cannot recall to mind the exact words which were hastily uttered on the occasion in question," but hopes that his "actual language may have been unintentionally misunderstood." It is easy to conceive that an excited speaker may not have a distinct recollection of the precise language he has used; but he must at least have some idea of what he meant to say, and of the spirit in which he said it. It is not, it must be remembered, of a mere casual slip of the tongue, of the use of one word for another, that Mr. CHAMBERLAIN is accused, but of a sustained vituperation, built up of several charges; and though he now professes to regret that he "should have used expressions which conveyed, or could be construed into, an imputation on the personal character of members of the Government," this scarcely goes beyond saying that he is sorry, not so much for what he said, as that he compromised himself by his way of putting it. It appears, from a letter which has been published by a member of the School Board who was present on this occasion, that Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's remarks having been at first supposed to apply to some of his own colleagues, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN deliberately explained that he was speaking of the Government, adding, "Nor was it insinuation; I do more than insinuate; I charge them with deliberate dishonesty." Whatever may have been the precise form of his attack, it is difficult to understand how it can have been an "unwitting offence," inasmuch as it expressed ideas which must have been distinctly formed in his mind; and, in framing his apology, he would have done well to study that which Mr. LOWE had recently to offer. An apology which is equivocal or grudging only adds to the original offence. As it is, although Mr. CHAMBERLAIN may be allowed to escape without being challenged to make good his indictment, the ebullition must be noted as a personal characteristic. Mr. CHAMBERLAIN is a conspicuous member of a body of advanced politicians who look forward to a period when they will be able to carry out their peculiar views in office; and he is about to take a formal step in this direction by asking Birmingham to send him to Parliament. It is interesting, therefore, to study Mr. CHAMBERLAIN as a type of the stuff of which the governing class of the future is to be composed, and to consider how far public life will be affected by the change.

The first thing that strikes one about Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's fish-bag eloquence is the contrast which it presents to the oratory of the member who at the present moment is chiefly identified with Birmingham. Mr. BRIGHT has often had to say strong things about public men in and out of Parliament, but he has never stooped to such a strain as this, nor indeed is it possible even to imagine his doing so. In Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's crude and spluttering discourse may be traced the predominant weakness of the new school of politicians. It marks the distinction between a man of education in the ordinary sense, as implying merely a certain range of knowledge, and a man of culture, as indicating the effect of intellectual studies on character and ways of thought and speech. Mr. CHAMBERLAIN is a fair example of the Mechanics' Institute mind. He is no doubt what is called well informed, and has a practised intelligence, which works in a hard, mechanical way, without insight or inspiration. He first attracted attention by an article in a maga-

zine, which was bold and dashing enough, but in every sentence suggested the trite commonplaces of a smart schoolboy. What he had to say had been already said over and over again, though perhaps nobody had ever before ventured to bring together so large a number of wild and fanciful projects. Since then Mr. CHAMBERLAIN has acquired a reputation, which is probably deserved, as a local administrator, and he has also come forward prominently in public questions on the extreme Radical side. It may be believed that he has practical ability within a certain sphere; but he has yet to show that he has the intellectual qualities which are essential for the position to which he is supposed to aspire. The article to which we have referred was remarkable only for the dogmatic glibness of the style, and was destitute of any trace of matured conviction or statesmanlike suggestion. It was made up, in fact, of just such things as a lad would say offhand because he had read or heard them somewhere, without understanding their relation to each other, or to the general constitution of society. Here and there in the programme of what were enumerated as necessary reforms there were proposals which might fairly be argued; but nothing could be more hopelessly futile than the idea that all these questions could be taken up in rapid succession and settled, as it were, by to-morrow at noon. Any one who could seriously contemplate such a course of policy must be singularly ignorant, not only of English history, but of the ordinary impulses of human nature. The Mayor of BIRMINGHAM is not the first rash sciolist who has thought that the world could be reconstructed all at once.

In his recent outburst against Mr. DISRAELI we have another illustration of the temper and frame of mind in which Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, after a close business career, has suddenly plunged into politics. He appears to be under the impression that, as Parliament is at present constituted, it is possible for "a man who hardly ever told the truth except by accident, a man who went down to the House of Commons and flung at the British Parliament the first lie that entered his head" (we are not assuming that this was precisely the language which Mr. CHAMBERLAIN used; we are dealing merely with his general conception of the PREMIER)—that it is possible for one so destitute of any particle of honour or integrity to command the confidence, or at least submission, of the whole body of Parliament. It is hard to say to what conclusions a man might not come who began by assuming that the earth is flat and that the sun goes round it, and something similar may be expected from the confusion of mind of a politician who has worked himself into the belief that public spirit, and even the sense of common decency, is so absolutely dead in this country as Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's language would imply. It is evident that this attack, though immediately aimed at Mr. DISRAELI, is in reality directed against Parliament and the constituencies; and it would be interesting to know where Mr. CHAMBERLAIN hopes to obtain a leverage for his great scheme of reform if public opinion is so debased as he describes it. There is another very suggestive point in Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's apology, that in which he pleads that he had been greatly overworked, and that he was speaking "under considerable mental strain, and in face of somewhat irritating interruptions." This suggests an uncomfortable conception of the chronic explosiveness which might be expected from so excitable a statesman under the mental strain and irritating interruptions of official life in the House of Commons.

It is known that there is in Birmingham a large and influential section of the population which does not recognize the authority of the Four Hundred, and it is possible that, after the exhibition which Mr. CHAMBERLAIN has just made, there may be a specially strenuous opposition to his election on Mr. DIXON's retirement. Under these circumstances, the Liberal party may perhaps find it necessary to reconsider whether they have made a wise choice of a candidate. Mr. CHAMBERLAIN has no doubt done good work as a Mayor, but there are other ways of repaying him for this than sending him to Parliament. There are various symptoms that in recent years there has been a certain deterioration in the character of the House of Commons; and this is largely due to the proportion of members who have been returned solely on grounds of local gratitude. The feeling is in itself not unnatural, but it ought not to be pushed too far, and the special qualifications of candidates ought to be considered. The danger of choosing imperfectly quali-

fied aspirants is that they have usually taken up politics as a new study, and without the necessary preparation for guarding against the delusions which it is apt to excite in minds that trust for guidance rather to personal fancies than to matured thought based upon experience. It is certainly not encouraging to find the Liberalism of the future presented in this crude and unlicked form. It is unpleasant to imagine what political controversy will be apt to become when it is taken in hand by men who start with the assumption that anything which an adversary says and which they do not like must necessarily be a falsehood, and that, as a security for public honour, Parliament is not to be trusted.

A PONTIFICATE OF THIRTY YEARS.

NO previous Pope has "seen the years of Peter," which Pius IX. has now exceeded by five, and to none therefore has it fallen to observe so many anniversaries and jubilees as are crowded into his prolonged pontificate. There was first the jubilee of his priestly ordination in 1869; then came in 1871 the unprecedented celebration of a Papacy which had reached the twenty-five years that tradition assigns to the apostolic rule of St. Peter. Already preparations are making for the universal observance in 1877 of the jubilee of his episcopal consecration. And meanwhile his Holiness on Wednesday last, June 21, celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of his accession to the Papal throne. How full of events, of changes, of revolutions, political, social, intellectual, and religious, that thirty years' period has been, we need not stop to remind our readers. The map of Europe has been reconstructed; the policy of every European State has been materially modified; new dynasties have risen and old ones have passed away; scarcely a European throne but has tottered or fallen; scarcely a principle once deemed axiomatic in any sphere of thought but has been rudely questioned or tacitly abandoned. One rock, it is boasted, still emerges unmoved from the deluge; one form stands erect amid a world of ruins; the Church which inscribes *semper eadem* on her banner has never faltered, never been subdued, and raises her head more proudly than ever, though the Kings and Queens who once befriended her have lost their crowns, and the temporal sovereignty that was the oldest in Christendom has been wrested from her jealous grasp. Never, we are assured, was her rule more absolute, her children more zealous and united, her faith more exclusively triumphant amid "the battle of the Churches" and the failure of dissolving creeds. This is what the Ultramontanes are never tired of telling us; and they generally add that the result is largely due to what Cardinal Manning has somewhere called the "divinest presence" he ever knew, that of the present Pope. Of course there is a certain truth in it. The great religious reaction which began more than half a century ago, after the shock of the first French Revolution had spent its force, was felt throughout Europe, and not least in that Church which is the largest and most powerful on the Continent. And as in the Anglican Church it first took the shape of the Tractarian revival, it naturally in the Roman Church gave a fresh impetus to Ultramontaniam, under the vigorous handling of its earlier leaders, Lamennais and De Maistre. And that reaction as naturally received some fresh accession of strength when brought into antagonism with the second revolutionary epoch of 1848. And this brings us to Pius IX.'s concern in the matter. Elected through a series of unforeseen accidents on June 16, 1846, after one of the shortest Conclaves on record, partly through the blundering of Cardinal Lambruschini, the head of the Conservative party (which had a great majority in the Conclave), partly through Cardinal Gaysnuk's arriving twelve hours too late with the Austrian veto; finally, as was believed, through the influence of Cardinal Acton, Mastai Ferretti, the hero and darling of the Liberal party at Rome, succeeded the ultra-conservative Gregory XVI., who had reluctantly, under strong pressure, raised him to the purple, with a sort of muttered prediction that he would become Pope and would ruin the temporal power, if not the Church also. The first part of the prediction has already been fulfilled, so far as Pius IX. may be supposed to have had a hand in bringing about the events of his pontificate. What is to be said of the second part?

If we are to believe the *papalini*, the Roman Church was never stronger than at this moment, and the Vatican Council has consummated and attested its triumph alike over the opposition of history and of present foes. Two new dogmas, one of wide range and momentous import, have been enunciated by Pius IX. After an interval of more than three centuries he has collected in Council a larger number of bishops than was ever previously assembled, and succeeded in manipulating their decisions at his will and crushing their resistance. He has started two or three new hierarchies and created a number of fresh sees. He has elicited a kind of passionate "devotion"—the word is not ours—to his person and office, which such ardent Catholics as Glatry and Montalembert have not scrupled to denounce as "Lamaism" and "idolatry." He has established throughout the episcopate and priesthood of his vast communion a system of rigid and uniform drill which Hildebrand never dreamt of, and probably would not have desired. He has reduced to muttered hints or to discon-

tented silence every whisper of dissent among the many millions of his fold; and the modern Catholic who would say *e pur se muove*, if he dared, is reminded of the Syllabus, and bidden to be gone or to hold his peace. In a certain sense this may be called a triumph, but there are victories more than one of which neither nations nor Churches can easily endure; the cost is too tremendous. The "Catholic reaction" was powerful, and it won its way; but under the auspices of Pius IX. and the Jesuit Camarilla who have long inspired his policy, it has advanced to the goal they have chosen over the prostrate bodies of the ablest and the noblest of its friends. Who was by general confession the leading Roman Catholic divine of Europe, whose name was respected by Christians of every shade, and thinkers of every creed or nation?—Döllinger; and Rome has excommunicated him. Who is the greatest convert probably that the Church of Rome has won since the Reformation?—Newman; and he lies under the cold shade of her disapproval, and is spoken of with a distrust, verging on detestation, by the "insolent faction" (as he himself termed them) who are now dominant in the Church. Who have been the leading thinkers of the day in Italy and Germany respectively who have sought to conciliate philosophy with Catholic belief?—Rosmini, Gioberti, and Gunther, all of them priests. The first was selected by Pius IX., in the early days of his transition from Liberalism to Ultramontaniam, for an insult wholly unprecedented by summarily quashing, for no fault whatever, his formal nomination to the cardinalate; Gioberti was persecuted out of the Church by the Jesuits; Gunther's works, written in German, which his judges did not understand, were all placed on the Index. Passaglia was the first theologian in Italy, and the learned apologist of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, but he was unsound on the temporal power; he has been either excommunicated or reduced to silence. Montalembert was the most eloquent of French writers and speakers, and the most eminent of living statesmen who had devoted their lives to the service of their Church; the Pope over his open grave denounced him as a "semi-Catholic," and prohibited the accustomed requiem for his soul at the French Church in Rome. We might go on to speak of the forced recantation wrung amid the agonies of an excruciating disease from the dying lips of Glatry, of the virtual expulsion of Father Hyacinthe, of the insults heaped on the memory of the single-minded Archbishop Darboy, to the last faithful alike to his conscience and his creed, of the suppression in this country of the strictly orthodox *Home and Foreign Review*. But we have said enough perhaps to show that the internal peace of the Church, which is vaunted as the crowning boast of Pius IX.'s long pontificate, is the stillness of the solitude that he has made around his throne.

Nor let any one object that this is the mere prejudiced estimate of Protestant ignorance or enmity. We reviewed not long ago a very remarkable work which, whatever controversy may be raised as to its formal and technical authorship, undoubtedly represents the views, and often the very words, of the late Cardinal Vitelleschi, and is edited by his brother the Marquis, who is a devout Roman Catholic, and, we believe, in the good graces of the Pope. What then is the explanation given on such exceptionally orthodox authority of the present state of the Church? Its "constitution in the nineteenth century," says the author, "renders resistance impossible; it is like a machine worked by a single motive force, which casts away all that it does not absorb within itself"; that is the secret of its boasted unity and peace. And he well sums up the net result of the policy pursued at the Vatican by saying that it has everywhere substituted "a Catholic party"—the italics are his own—for the Catholic Church. As at Trent the Church repudiated the Protestants with many anathemas, while she tightened her hold over the portion of her subjects that remained to her, so now the process has been again repeated, and those who are sedulously narrowing the terms of communion "have given up the universality of their kingdom." The result of all this, it is added, is "a feeling of weariness even among the most devoted Catholics" and "a passive resistance," while the clergy are reduced to mere mechanical instruments, and the authorities "prefer to see the number of the faithful constantly diminished rather than to recognize as such any who are not completely and blindly submissive." Meanwhile Catholics are completely isolated from all other Christians, even those who most nearly approach them in belief, while they "very often neither have nor profess any religion whatever," and seem instinctively to draw closest to those whose views tend most towards rationalism. This is the result on "practising Catholics"—who are "simply a party in the Church at the present day"—of this ultimate development of an absolutism so minute, so uniform, and so inflexible; while others have learnt to rebel, "consciously, openly, and wildly," and a third party subside into "honorary members for life" on condition of holding their tongues, observing a few external ceremonies, and promising a final repentance. The peculiar organization and traditions of the Roman Curia supply it with quite unique capabilities for exercising this sort of absolute domination, and even the fall of the temporal power has proved conducive to the same end by bringing the purely ecclesiastical element to the front. It is not wonderful under the circumstances that those who look at the matter from the point of view of such liberal Catholics as Vitelleschi should consider "the present situation of the Church very discouraging." To their closer scrutiny, what to the sanguine gaze of Ultramontane zealots looks like the verdure of a second spring will appear at best to be but the efflorescence of decay. And if this be a just verdict, something more than the interests of the Church

must be compromised by the result. For religion, in the words of the eminent author already quoted, "is one of the integral elements of society, one of the firmest bonds by which it is united, and is the foundation which sustains the social fabric." It is therefore no light thing, even from a purely human and temporal point of view, that religion should be dragged through the mire at the chariot wheels of an imperious and powerful autocracy which loudly claims, and is still widely believed, to be the sole authorized representative of revealed truth.

COUNTRY BAZAARS.

THE tranquillity of country life is much disturbed at intervals by rumours of bazaars. Weddings have in comparison but a private and family interest. Consecrations are ceremonies as strictly religious as if the service could be read from the Book of Common Prayer. But bazaars are always both family affairs and also religious; or, so to speak, they make a profession of religion; for, though they do not aspire to ceremonial dignity, there is a certain flavour of Christianity about them, in spite of their Mahometan name. Various forms of excitement are combined in bazaars, and the proportions are delicately measured. The weather, for example, enters largely into all the calculations either of pleasure or profit. From a town point of view, indeed, country folk are folk who live in a state of constant dependence on the weather. In this respect town people are perhaps unfortunate; for, if a sense of the impotence of human nature is conducive to the growth and maintenance of religious fervour, the influence of the weather should be an unmixed good to the inhabitants of the country. But, granted a fine day, another question arises. The means of locomotion are limited. The whole family goes to the bazaar, including the baby and the stranger within the gates, but the parochial pony is inadequate to the task of conveying them all. Another and even more serious question is connected with clothing. How are the young ladies to dress? And not the young ladies only, but also the curate and the schoolboy at home. Bonnets, and the problems to which they give rise, are enough to turn one's head. Hats are full of complications too. They may be roughly divided, like consonants or salmon, into hard and soft. Time was when religious differences were indicated by the flabbiness of the rim, the use of cord or band, and the height of the crown. But, unless we are misinformed, such animosities have ceased to influence hats with any distinctness. Not only a wide brim and a cord, but a shaven face, a standing collar, and a cassock waistcoat may be found in conjunction with the most latitudinarian views and the most lax systems of discipline. Ladies' dresses, in like manner, were once supposed to mark, by their elegance or their newness, certain grades of social rank. But now they may be said to divide themselves into two classes, with which neither rank nor person has much to do. Some dresses are fresh from town, and some are merely fresh arrangements of old materials; for the most part these latter are the prettiest. The fashionable costume looks as if it had been constructed without any reference to the features or complexion of the wearer. It may be very fine in the abstract; it may contain the latest shade of sea-green from the studios, and be admirably adapted to display the graces of the lay figure in a Regent Street window. But the old-fashioned costumes which owe their origin to the taste of the retired inhabitants of the country parsonage are often more pleasing, and always more becoming, while every now and then they present to the curious visitor the unexpected attraction of a lappet of old point, a Persian scarf, or an ancient family jewel.

The town visitor is probably regarded as a scoffer on the sacred subject of bazaars. He perhaps objects to them on principle; but what are principles to young ladies who wish to get up a bazaar? His economical objections are over-ruled. There are plenty of reasons fresh to hand. There may be a mission starting for the Caribbee Islands; or an inundation may have taken place in Holland; or some young heathen may want clothes. But the great reason of all is that the old church needs restoration. You may plead in vain that the church is very well as it is; that a time may come before long when people will be so misguided as to admire panelling of the seventeenth century, and so blinded as not to object to monuments in the chancel, and that, at the worst, if the church really requires repair, the parish is rich enough to pay the bill. There is no occasion, it may be added, for passing the money of the benevolent through a sieve of fancy work and raffles. Why should marquee be necessary to the proper discharge of a religious duty, or why should profane soldiers play waltzes to a party of clergymen? But such arguments are received with the contempt they deserve. They are beside the mark, to judge by the result. Their futility is apparent. It is true, the church has done nothing for which it should suffer restoration. The Low Dutch may perhaps like water rather than otherwise. The little negroes will probably find clothing superfluous, if not inconvenient. The mission to the Caribbees may have been devoured months before, and nothing left of it but the parent Society at home, like a source without a stream. But the young ladies have made up their minds to have a bazaar, and vain are the objections of men. A thrill of emotion passes through every female bosom in the parish as the decree goes forth. Accomplished hands and eyes are busy at once with Berlin wool and water-colours, with dolls' houses, and, more especially, with a new

invention which bears a bad name. For aught we know to the contrary, "crewels" may be innocent enough in themselves, but the word has a questionable sound. All works of the doyley and antimacassar kind are obnoxious to the criticism of the sterner sex. Their appearance and uses are as hideous and mysterious as their nomenclature is awkward and absurd, and crewels may be no worse than any of the other and accustomed implements of drawing-room torture. But devotion to the needle and the hook is alternated with the arrangement of dried ferns and the seaweed gathered last autumn. Heraldry comes into unwonted use, and the curate who can write in black letter finds himself suddenly a person of importance. He is invited to tea, he is allowed to give his opinion freely on various subjects, including embroidery, and, unless he is more than ordinarily stupid, he gets mysterious hints as to the prohibitory price to be placed on certain of the choicer productions and their ultimate destination. The decline of bands has been a sad loss to bazaars. We do not refer to brass bands, which flourish in full blast at every such festival, but to the venerable relics of a time when the clergy left off wearing beards while they retained the fold of linen which had protected their cassocks, and which in later days furnished opportunity for paying so sweet a compliment to the reigning curate. His function, indeed, in the preparations for the bazaar is a very definite one, and it is well when he happens to be a man of taste. The design of the more important objects to be worked will probably be entrusted to him. If he is Low Church, he must write texts for his fair friends to illuminate, and choose mottoes for religious markers, such as the sentence from the *Pilgrim's Progress*, "Here Christian fell asleep." These quotations are admirably adapted to the exigencies of bazaars where piety and playfulness go hand in hand. If the clergyman is High Church, he is still more in request. He superintends the preparation of altar furniture in divers colours of needlework, appropriate to the changing seasons—faldstools, banners, and particularly touching little blotters, with the church as it is on one side and the church as it ought to be on the other.

As the great day approaches the excitement becomes more and more intense. To the pious bazaars are what balls are to the worldling. The revelry is much the same in both places. Perhaps on the whole there is a more decorous observance of the proprieties in the ball-room. Some form of introduction is a necessary preliminary to flirtation; young ladies cannot go very far afield without a chaperon; and nooks and corners for happy lovers are not very frequent or very secure. But at the bazaar it is in vain that the anxious mother flutters round her reckless offspring. They plunge in regardless of her frowns, and are soon far beyond her reach. She cannot prevent the most ineligible of the gentlemen present from addressing her charming brood. No introduction is needed to the pretty merchants in the fancy fair. For in one respect the bazaar combines the ball-room and the theatre, and the young ladies who play at shopkeeping may conquer by their stooping. Young Lord Melanion may lean over and whisper soft nothings into the ear of the Lady Atalanta so long as he can detain her by flinging his golden guineas before her on the counter. But, on the other hand, the handsome little Tomkins, whom mammas hate and their daughters like so much, has quite as good a chance of winning in the race. Every now and then the relaxation of a turn in the grounds is necessary to the continued assiduity of the stall-holders, and such wanderings have a tendency to protract themselves beyond the just requirements of the case. A shady seat under a spreading tree, a quiet walk by a dark yew hedge, the reflection of two forms in a glassy pond, are a relief after the heat and bustle of the marquee. Another visit, necessary at short intervals, must be paid to the refreshment tent, and the parental eye is again eluded. The refreshment tent is an oasis in the desert; there only can anything worth buying be had for one's money. It is better to pay a shilling for a cup of tea, or two shillings for an ice, than to waste half-crowns and half-sovereigns on pen-wipers, dolls' shoes, card-baskets, and babies' pinafores. A man can only wear two or three nose-gays at once, and cannot present more than that number to other people. One flower injudiciously bestowed may undo in a moment what has been the labour of love for years. Some wise people confine their attention wholly to raffles. In this innocent kind of gambling much time and money may be spent for the good of the cause. The danger of winning is not so great as to make the excitement insupportable, though sooner or later there must come an end to taking tickets; and it is well for the unwary visitor if he is not involved in the possession of a fender-stool, a cradle, or even a writing-desk. From such an appalling prospect he turns to Love's Letter-box, especially if he be blest with the companionship of an agreeable and not too susceptible partner. For the most part only engaged girls can be cautiously conducted to the post-office window. Then, too, an amateur concert may dispute the musical honours of the day with the military band; and though the singing is probably inaudible, owing to the thinness of the tent, it may be not the less pleasant on that account. As a last resource, there is always the funny man, a chartered libertine at bazaars, of whom one is driven to wonder what he does when no bazaars are going on. He is usually deficient in personal beauty and of an uncertain antiquity. He calls the rector's daughters by their Christian names, makes fun of the archdeacon, and earns countless sums by feats of jugglery which he does not perform, and by propounding riddles which he cannot answer himself.

LE MANS.

WE spoke some years ago of the architectural character of the chief churches of Le Mans, especially in comparison with those of Chartres. But the comparison was of a purely architectural kind, and hardly touched the general history and special position of the Cenomannian city among the cities of Gaul. That position is one which is almost unique. The city of the Cenomanni, the modern Le Mans, has never stood in the first rank of the cities of Europe, or even of Gaul; but there are few which are the centres of deeper or more varied interests. Le Mans has at once a princely, an ecclesiastical, and, above all, a municipal history. It is true that its princely and its ecclesiastical history are spread over many ages, while its municipal history is a thing of a moment; yet it is the municipal history which gives Le Mans its special character. Le Mans, in the course of its long history, has been many things; but it is before all things the city of the *commune*. Among cities north of the Loire—it might perhaps be unsafe to say among cities north of the Alps—Le Mans shares with Exeter the credit of asserting the position of a civic commonwealth in days when, even in more Southern lands, the steps taken in that direction were as yet but very imperfect. And it was against the same enemy that freedom was asserted by the insular and by the continental city. The freedom of Exeter and the freedom of Le Mans were alike asserted against the man who appeared in Maine as no less distinctly the Conqueror than he appeared in England. Exeter, in her character of commonwealth, checked the progress of William by the most determined opposition that he met with in the course of his insular conquest. Le Mans, conquered before William crossed the sea, threw off his yoke when he was master of the island as well as of the mainland. Had the men either of the island or of the mainland been capable of any enlarged political combinations, England and Maine would have done wisely to unite their forces against the common enemy. And it is just possible that those obscure dealings of Earl Harold with the powers of Gaul which are dimly alluded to by the biographer of Eadward may have had some object of this kind. But, if so, nothing practical came of them. Maine and England did nothing to help one another. In fact, when Maine was won back to William's obedience, the work was largely done by English hands, and those the hands of men who, there is some reason to think, had Hereward himself as their captain. The actual relations between England and Maine in the eleventh century were thus the exact opposite of what they ought to have been. Englishmen appeared on the mainland as the ravagers and conquerors of a district whose people ought to have been their closest allies. Still even this kind of negative relation does establish a kind of connexion between Maine and England. Above all, it establishes a special analogy between the English city which withstood the Conqueror, and the Gaulish city which revolted against him, in the name of the same principle which a century later was to do such great things among the cities of Lombardy.

The moment then of greatest interest in the history of the Cenomannian city is the moment of its short-lived republican independence. In the case of Le Mans, as in the case of Exeter, we should be well pleased if we knew more of the exact form of commonwealth which it was proposed to establish, and, above all, of the relations which were to be maintained between the city and the surrounding districts. Most likely nothing of the kind was ever put into shape. The commonwealth of Le Mans and the commonwealth of Exeter both sprang into being in a moment of patriotic enthusiasm, when the city and the surrounding districts were fully united in a vigorous effort against the common enemy. How the two were to get on together in more settled times they most likely did not stop to think. What we do know is that the citizens of Le Mans made a *commune*, that the people of the country at large zealously supported them, that the nobles swore to the new commonwealth unwillingly, and, in some cases, even dishonestly. All that we know about the matter comes from the historian of the Cenomannian Bishops, who first of all thinks the *commune* which the Norman Bishop naturally opposed to be a very wicked thing, but who afterwards, when it came to actual fighting, cannot help sympathizing with the men of his own city. There was a *commune* of Le Mans, a *commune* in which all Maine shared, a *commune* which the Bishops and the nobles had to join against their will, and which one of the nobles betrayed as soon as he could. That is about all our knowledge; it is just enough to make us wish to know a good deal more. It is enough to throw over Le Mans and Maine an interest which is shared by no other city and province of Northern Gaul; and it makes us feel a kind of disappointment in the inevitable fact that the greatest moment in the history of the city is exactly the one which has left no trace in its existing monuments.

Of the times earlier and later than the republican movement of the eleventh century Le Mans has abundant remains of all kinds. No city is more distinctly the Gaulish hill-fort which has gradually swelled into the Roman, the mediæval, and the modern city. Yet the height of Le Mans is neither so lofty nor so isolated as those of many of its fellows. It is not a detached hill at all, nor does the city stand on the highest ground in its own immediate neighbourhood; and on the eastern, the inland side, the slope of the rising ground is very gradual. Yet the site of the hill-fort which grew into the city was happily chosen. It was pitched on the point where the high ground comes close to the river Sarthe and rises precipitously above it. From the river side then, the western

side, Le Mans has most distinctly the character of a hill city; which comes out much less strongly in the approach from the east, while in the approach from the north, where there is an actual descent into the ancient city, it is altogether lost. It is from the river side then that those who wish—while there is yet time—to get a notion of what the Cenomannian city was, either in Roman or in mediæval times, must go to look for it. The city has extended itself on this side as well as on the others, but it has extended itself in the form of an outlying suburb beyond the river. To the west, the north, and the south, the spread of the modern town has done much to wipe out the ancient landmarks.

The Roman remains of Le Mans show well how the conquering race in their distant foundations knew how to adapt themselves to every kind of position. There was one type of city which was preferred wherever the ground allowed of it; but that type was freely forsaken whenever practical necessity commanded that it should be forsaken. The hill of Vindinum, Subindinum, whichever form we are to choose, therein differing from the hill of Isca, was not at all suited for the laying out of a city according to the familiar type of a Roman *chester*. The high ground immediately overlooking the river formed a long narrow ridge, and the space included within the Roman walls—*la Cité*, as distinguished from the more modern parts of the town—shows no approach to a square, but forms an irregular figure, which only by a stretch of courtesy can be called even an oblong. Within this again the chief ecclesiastical street, the *Rue des Chanoines*, running parallel with the more secular *Grande Rue*, bears in mediæval documents the strange title of *Vetus Roma*, which has been held to point to a still earlier enclosure, that of the primitive Gaulish fort itself. Of the Roman walls, whose construction, like that of most Roman walls in Gaul and Britain, shows them to be not earlier than the third century, large portions still remain; indeed a little time back it might have been said that the river front of the wall, with its noble range of round bastions, was all but absolutely perfect. On the other side, towards the modern town, the wall was less perfect, but even there a great deal could be made out. But the Roman walls did not take in the whole even of the mediæval city. In the thirteenth century an outer range of wall was raised close to the stream, taking in the suburb of *La Tannerie*; an extension to the south and south-east took in the quarter of St. Benêt, and another suburb called *L'Épéron*. More remarkably still, at the north-east corner of the Roman inclosure, the growth of the cathedral of St. Julian to the east, exactly as in the case of Lincoln, overleaped the Roman wall and caused a further enlargement at this corner. It should be noticed that, contrary to the general Gaulish rule, the church of Le Mans stood in a corner of the original city, so as to make somewhat of an ecclesiastical quarter after a fashion English rather than Gaulish. In the Cenomannian state the Prince, the Bishop, and the citizens all held their distinct places, and it was reasonable that their geographical quarters should be marked also. In fact, in the great days of Cenomannian history the Bishop was a power independent alike of Count and city. He owed temporal allegiance to neither, but held directly of the King at Laon or at Paris. Had the development of things in Gaul followed the same course as the development of things in Germany, Maine might have seen, like so many German lands, the ecclesiastical and the temporal principality and the free city, all side by side, bound together by no tie beyond such degree of dependence as any of them might have kept on the common centre. But when county, bishopric, and city all came under the strong hand of the Norman, all tendencies of this kind were checked. And they perished for ever when Normandy and Maine, instead of external fiefs, became incorporated provinces of the French kingdom.

Within and around the walls of the city there arose in different ages a series of buildings, ecclesiastical, military, and civil, which might claim for Le Mans a place among the cities of Gaul and Europe next after those cities which had been the actual seats of imperial or royal dominion. Above the river rose the double line of walls and towers, Roman and mediæval, and high above them the vast and wondrous pile of St. Julian's minster. On the side away from the river, the side pointing towards the hostile land of Anjou, built on the Roman wall itself and seemingly out of Roman materials, stood the palace of the Counts, well placed indeed for Count Herbert, *Evigilans Canem*, to sally forth on the nightly raids before which black Angers trembled. And besides the dwellings of the temporal and spiritual chiefs, the ancient streets of Le Mans were set thick with houses, the dwellings of priests and citizens, which showed how well both classes thrived, and how each did something for the adornment of the city in every form of art, from Romanesque to Renaissance. But a little time back the traveller might have seen at Le Mans more houses of the twelfth century than he would see anywhere north of Venice. And, besides the works of her own princes, bishops, and citizens, Le Mans had also once to show the grimmer memorials of her conquerors. But, as not uncommonly happens, the memorials of the earlier time have outlived those of the later. At the northern end of the city William thought it needful to strengthen his greatest continental conquest by two distinct fortresses. Close by St. Julian's, just outside the eastern line of the Roman wall, and formed, we may believe, out of its materials, rose the Castle, the *Regia turris*. Some way to the north-east, at a greater distance from the river, rose the fortress of *Mons Barbatus* or *Mont Barbet*, this last standing on higher ground than the city and the royal tower. But of the royal tower itself, and of the fortress into which it grew in later times, a few fragments only have escaped the politic destruction of the

days of Richelieu. Of Mont Barbet nothing is left but the *motte* or *agger*, dating doubtless from far earlier days, but which, as so often happens, has outlived the buildings which were placed upon and around it. One would have been well pleased to see the whole line of defence, the double wall of the city, the double fortress of the Conqueror, grouping, as they must have done, with the endless towers and spires of the monastic and parochial churches of the city and its suburbs.

For, besides the great cathedral church within its walls, Le Mans was, as it were, girded with great ecclesiastical buildings. Two noble monastic churches, those of La Couture, on the south-eastern side of the city, and of Le Pré, on the other side of the river, still remain; and we have spoken of their architectural character in past years. There were also the Abbeys of Beaulieu, beyond the river, and of St. Vincent opposite to it beyond Mont Barbet, of which the latter survives in the shape of a Renaissance rebuilding. And far away in a distant suburb to the east is the hospital founded by the last native prince of Le Mans, the great Henry, to whom his native city might seem as a central point of his vast domain, insular and continental. In him the blood of all the older rulers and enemies of Le Mans was joined together. The stock of the old Counts and of the Norman conquerors, the blood of Helias and of his Angevin representatives, all flowed together in the veins of the King who was born within the walls of Le Mans, and who, if he did not die within its walls, at least died of grief at seeing them in the hands of his enemy.

But it is painful for one who remembers Le Mans only eight years back to speak of what it is now. It is hard to believe that within that time Le Mans has beheld no slight or unimportant warfare beneath its walls, and that the city of Herbert and Helias bowed but yesterday to the power of a third conquering William. Le Mans has lost something through the foreign occupation, but the traveller needs to have it explained to him what it has lost. When we hear that the Bishop's palace got burned by the German invaders, it almost sounds as if Germans and Normans had got confounded. But the damage wrought by the last conquerors is being speedily made good on another site. It is the damage which is doing to the city by the merciless hands of its own people that never can be made good. One would have thought that the Cenomannian city on its height, the proud line of its Roman bulwarks, the noble works of later days which those bulwarks shelter, might have moved the heart of the most ruthless of destroyers. It might have been a good work to clear away the mean houses which cling to the Roman wall, and to let the mighty rampart stand forth in all its majesty; but among those who have the fate of the ancient city in their hands there is no thought of preservation—destruction is the only object. We know not who are the guilty ones. Perhaps there is some stuck-up Mayor or Prefect who would think himself a great man if he could make Le Mans as ugly and uninteresting as the dreary modern streets of Rouen or of Paris itself. It is at all events certain that M. Haussmann was not long ago seen in Le Mans, and such a presence at such a time is frightfully ominous. At any rate the facts which can be seen by the traveller's own eyes are beyond doubt. The later walls close by the river have been broken down to leave fragments here and there as ornaments in a kind of garden, and, worse still than this, the ancient wall has been broken through, and the ancient city itself cleft in twain. By an amount of labour which reminds one of Trajan cutting through the Quirinal, *la Cité* has been cut into two halves with a yawning gulf between them; the Roman wall is broken through, and the very best of the twelfth-century houses has been ruthlessly swept away. The excuse for this brutal havoc is to make a road or street of some kind direct from the modern town to the river. If the savages could have been persuaded to pay a visit to Devizes, they might there have learned that the claims of past and present may be reconciled. There the simple device of a tunnel carries the railway under the ancient mound without doing the least harm; and a tunnel might in the same way have connected the modern town with the Sarthe without doing the least damage either to Roman walls or Romanesque houses. But there are minds to which mere havoc gives a pleasure for its own sake. The Bishop of Durham, mourning because one of the chief of the lesser antiquities of his city has been happily saved, would find kindred spirits on the Cenomannian height. A great part of St. Julian's is more than seven hundred years old, and in the eyes either of Bishop or of Prefect it may be ugly. The vast *menhir* which rests against one of its walls has seen many more than seven centuries, and the most devoted antiquary can hardly call it beautiful. When the Roman walls of Le Mans are not spared, nothing can be safe. All that can be done is for those in whose eyes antiquity is not a crime to run to and fro over the world as fast as may be, and see all that they can while anything is left.

VIVISECTION.

THE discussion in the House of Lords on Tuesday in Committee on the Bill "To amend the Law relating to Cruelty to Animals," as it is now to be called, brought out very clearly the general character of the question, and the limits within which legislative interference is possible or desirable. In its present form, the question is not so much one of the metaphysics of morality as of practical expediency. Strict logic would no doubt require that an extension of Martin's Act should be carried very much further than

the measure now before Parliament, and that the principle that no animal should be tortured without real necessity should be applied, not only to scientific experiments, but to the general treatment of animals by all classes alike. Yet, broadly speaking, the Bill is not illogical, since logic must be supposed in such a case to include the consideration of what is at the moment possible or expedient, as well as of what may be required by a rigid following out of theory. It seems to us that this Bill will not only tend to promote generally a higher standard of humanity in the treatment of animals, but that it is also demanded in the interests of the scientific class which is more immediately affected by it. In the first place, it is for the medical profession in such a matter to set an example to the rest of the community of scrupulous consideration for animals, and self-restraint in the infliction of pain. They have a great social function to perform in this respect, just as the clergy have in regard to decency of speech and manners. If reckless cruelty to animals were to become common among even a small and inferior section of the medical body, it would have a dangerous influence on coarser and less thoughtful minds. It is desirable, therefore, for the sake of maintaining both the high character of the profession, and the good influence thus exercised in other quarters, that everything should be done to check the first tendencies to wanton and unnecessary cruelty within this sphere. It may be true that there has been much exaggeration on this subject. A "Medical Student," in a letter to the *Times* the other day, stated that he had been studying for two years at one of the largest metropolitan hospitals, and during that time he had seen only one vivisection, and that was under chloroform, the animal being killed before the effects of the anæsthetic had disappeared; and probably the majority of students could say that in almost all cases an anæsthetic was used. At the same time, the evidence taken by the Royal Commission shows conclusively that in certain quarters there was a tendency to abuses which was only too likely to spread. It should be observed that, though it may be assumed that the better part of the profession are anxious to do what they can to check abuses, they are at present powerless to do so. It is not in public laboratories but in private lodgings that the worst things are practised, and all that can be done by the profession is to discourage them by an exercise of moral authority, which may or may not produce much effect. The great recommendation of the Bill is that it will be of advantage both to the profession and the public, in giving securities—not absolute perhaps, yet substantial—to both that the law will be enforced if vivisectional experiments are carried beyond the legitimate limit. Another advantage which the operators will derive from this law is that it will stand between them and any ignorant outcry. When it passes, they will be engaged in pursuits which will have been distinctly proclaimed to be within the sanction and protection of the law. It is probable of course that, whatever is done, there may always be persons who will not be content with any restrictions that fall short of absolute prohibition; but the great body of opinion will, we believe, be on the other side, and will support scientific workers as long as they keep within due bounds.

There can be no doubt, as Lord Carnarvon said, that the Bill is a penal one; but it is so in form rather than in spirit, and the manner in which it is worked will depend in a large degree on the loyalty and cordiality of the support which the medical profession give to it. If they choose to take it up in good faith, and to make it a defence for themselves against excesses which undoubtedly affect the general character of the profession in public estimation, they may be sure that the Executive will be glad of their assistance, and will naturally be much influenced by their advice. On the other hand, should the measure be received in a hostile spirit, and attempts be made to evade it or to throw difficulties in the way of its operation, it is certain to have the effect of exasperating and inflaming the minds of an extreme party, whose hold on popular feeling is very strong, and whose influence the doctors can scarcely desire to increase. Two amendments have been made in the Bill, which, while they are, as we think, reasonable concessions to the self-respect and dignity of scientific men, also tend to make it more workable. The first removes the invidious suggestion contained in the early title of the Bill, "An Act to prevent cruel Experiments on Animals," and makes the measure a development of the general law as to cruelty to animals. The other dissipates the ambiguity which attached to the phrase, "This experiment must be performed with a view only to the advancement, by new discovery, of knowledge which will be useful for saving or prolonging human life or alleviating human suffering." It is impossible in certain cases to say beforehand how far such results will be obtained by particular experiments, though these may be calculated to extend the range of knowledge. The Bill will now sanction experiments "with a view only to the advancement, by new discovery, of physiological or medical knowledge, or of knowledge which will be useful for saving or prolonging human life, or for alleviating human suffering"; and this form of words has further the advantage of including physiological research in the interests of animals themselves. On the other hand, the opponents of vivisection have gained a little ground, horses, asses, and mules being added to the list of privileged animals, which formerly included only cats and dogs—a proviso, however, being added permitting experiments "in special cases, for which special reasons should be assigned, and for which the consent of the Home Secretary should be specially required." The Duke of Somerset pressed very strongly for a definition of "animal," and fears have been expressed—though, we suppose, not seriously—as to whether the Bill may not prove a protection to

wasps, beetles, and all kinds of vermin. The Government, having before its eyes the warning example of the General Medical Council, which, after an earnest attempt to define "any living animal," gave it up in despair, has wisely decided not to venture on such a hopeless task; and it must be presumed that common sense will preside over the enforcement of the Act. The proposal to strike out the provision limiting experiments to registered places was also successfully resisted by the Government, on the ground that, unless it was known where experiments were being tried, inspection would be impossible. Lord Kimberley said he thought that this restriction was an outrage on the medical profession; but it is in reality a measure for their protection against abuses which could not otherwise be dealt with.

It seems to us that the chief value of the Bill is that it is a good statement of general principles; but its effect will necessarily depend on the manner in which it is actually carried out, which will in turn depend, as we have already said, on how far scientific men, as a body, are prepared to give it a fair trial. If they are willing to do this, they may count on the support of moderate and reasonable persons, and the Government, for its own sake, will no doubt be on the same side. In one important respect, however, the Bill seems to be still imperfect, and that is in leaving the initiation of proceedings to any common informer. What is wanted is some check on a silly or malicious use of the law, similar to the intervention or assent of the Attorney-General in other cases; and, if this were supplied, the Bill would, we think, be greatly improved. There would then be a check upon any flagrantly improper proceedings under the Act; and, on the other hand, its necessary and justifiable operation would command greater public confidence than it would otherwise do. As to the general question of the settlement of which this measure is only a partial instalment, Lord Lansdowne summed up very pointedly the moral of the debate when he said—in words which the *Times* for some reason suppresses—that, after the passing of the Bill, the position of domestic animals would be an excellent one, but animals which were not domestic also deserved some consideration, and he asked how persons guilty of cruelty towards these would be dealt with. Lord Carnarvon oracularly replied that this was a question of the administration of the law; and perhaps this was as much as could be expected from a Minister on such an occasion. Nevertheless, the question which Lord Lansdowne put cannot be ignored, and will no doubt one day, when opinion has further ripened, receive a decisive answer.

LES DANICHEFF.

LES DANICHEFF, of which we spoke some little time ago when it was being performed in Paris, has now been transferred to the St. James's Theatre. An advertisement which heralded its coming and is still employed describes the piece as "the only great success of the Parisian season"—a statement which coolly puts *L'Etrangère* out of the question. No doubt *Les Danicheff* was, after *L'Etrangère*, the most successful play in Paris; and the attention attracted by these two plays is a striking instance of M. Dumas's command of the playgoing public. For, although *Les Danicheff* is in the main the work of M. Pierre Newsky, it might well have failed to hit the popular taste if it had not passed through the hands of M. Dumas, who worked into it the French element which is absolutely necessary to a play that is to please Parisian playgoers. The character of Roger de Taldé, the French Attaché at Moscow, if not actually introduced by M. Dumas, has evidently been written up by him, and to him is assigned much of that drily brilliant dialogue which in M. Dumas's *L'Etrangère* makes up to some extent for faults in invention and construction. This character is played by M. Porel, an actor of first-rate qualities, who has the art of giving a keen point to the author's words while he utters them with an absolutely natural and spontaneous air. The cast is in the principal parts the same as it was in Paris, except in the case of the dowager Countess (why dowager, when she was the only one of her name, is best known to MM. Newsky and Dumas), who is now played by Mme. Fargueil, in the place of Mme. Picard. Mme. Picard's performance of this ungracious part commanded respect for the actress's intelligence and skill; she was dignified and impressive, but she did not, as Mme. Fargueil does, by a succession of delicate touches, reveal the cruel, courageous nature of the high-bred lady filled with the pride of race, who thinks it a more sacred duty to break the hearts of her son and the girl whom he loves, lest he should marry out of his rank, than to keep a solemn promise made to him. Mme. Fargueil, with admirable art, makes the spectator understand that the Countess, hateful as her conduct was on the occasion with which he is chiefly concerned, was not an altogether disagreeable person; that is, she represents the character to the life. There are many such women in the world, whose pleasant manners and clever talk make them agreeable companions so long as nothing happens to call out the selfish pride to which everything must be sacrificed as if to some insatiable idol. The danger for an actress who represents such a character on the stage is that she may seize only the salient point upon which the action turns, neglecting altogether those aspects which are of necessity slightly indicated by the author. Into this danger Mme. Picard fell; the Countess Danicheff was in her hands throughout repellent, if imposing. Mme. Fargueil, on the contrary, shows not only what she was

when her evil qualities were at work, but how she must have impressed people who knew her only as an agreeable member of society. The cold, cruel smile, the impassive dignity with which she listens to Anna's imploring entreaties in the first act, are in the second, where she is talking to her friends in the Princess Lydia's drawing-room, replaced by a winning, yet no less dignified, courtesy. The actress's grasp of character and power of exhibiting it is shown again in the third act, where the Countess finds her plans suddenly and unexpectedly overthrown, and, recognizing the fact that further resistance is useless, immediately sets to work to undo what she has done. Here Mme. Fargueil displays with singular force the Countess's swift perception and imperturbable courage. Chance has defeated her carefully-laid schemes; the situation is accepted at once; regret for what had happened would be useless; and the best course is to fall in with the new current of events. The play of Mme. Fargueil's face, her gestures, the tones of her voice, were admirable throughout this scene, both when her will is first thwarted and when she sees that opposition has become hopeless.

The first act of the play passes within the château of the Countess Danicheff, in a large old-fashioned drawing-room, at the right of which are doors opening into a kind of private chapel or oratory. The Countess is surrounded by Anna—a favourite serf girl whom she has in a manner adopted—by her two hangers-on, Marina and Antissa, whom at one point she addresses as "vieux lambris," and by kittens, dogs, and a parrot. The animals are introduced to give local colour, and their presence on the stage certainly adds a pleasant and real appearance to the scene. It presently appears that the young Count Wladimir is desperately in love with Anna, and that she is equally in love with him. The news has to be broken to the Countess, who almost immediately sets her hard clever brain to work and forms her plans. She tells her son that she would have preferred his loving some one in his own class of life; but if he is really in love with this girl, the best must be made of it. Let him stay in Moscow for a year with his regiment, and pay his court to the Princess Lydia Wlanoff; if at the end of that time he returns in the same mind with regard to Anna, no further obstacle shall be suggested. The young man is full of gratitude, and goes off to Moscow full of hope. No sooner is he gone than the Countess makes Anna write out a deed freeing her coachman Ossip from serfdom, and then, calling in Ossip, announces to him that he is going to be married to Anna. Anna protests and implores in vain; the Countess listens to her unmoved, and with a bitter irony affects to think that her low spirits of late have been due to love for Ossip. In the midst of this cruel banter she reveals to the girl in a few cutting words the real state of her mind, and these few words are delivered by Mme. Fargueil with a fury and contempt which are none the less scathing for being suppressed almost to a whisper. Anna as a last resource appeals to Ossip himself, who, as she knows, is a man of singularly high character, and finds to her dismay that he has for long loved her. After an impassioned appeal to her, he sees that there is no hope of his love being returned, that she loves his young master, to whom he owes a deep debt of gratitude, and while he tells her that the marriage ceremony must take place in obedience to the Countess's commands, he reassures her in vague terms. Accordingly, in spite of the remonstrances of the priest, who observes that there ought to be love on both sides to make a marriage desirable, the Countess's orders are obeyed; and Anna, who is, like Ossip, set free, is forced, crying and imploring for mercy, to sign her name to the marriage register. The curtain comes down as the crowd of attendants passes into the chapel, and the Countess says, "Now the Count Wladimir may come back from Moscow as soon as he likes." The situation is powerful, and the writing has both imagination and character. There is one unnecessarily brutal speech, that might well be omitted, of the Countess's, in which one suspects the hand of M. Dumas, who loves to deal with what is repellent. The playing of this act depends mainly on Mme. Fargueil and Mlle. Hélène Petit, who represents Anna. Of Mme. Fargueil's admirable performance we have already spoken. Mlle. Petit obtains a good deal of applause by a carefully exaggerated employment of the conventional movements and tones which pass on the stage for the expression of despair. M. Marais, who plays the young Count, makes love well, and manages to look exactly like a young Russian.

The scene of the second act is at Moscow in the Princess Lydia's drawing-room, which is filled by various entertaining personages, foremost among whom is Roger de Taldé, the French Attaché, who, as represented by M. Porel, delivers a quantity of witty sayings as if they were given out on the impulse of the moment. Among other things, he gives an account of Wladimir's saving his life in a bear hunt, an incident which was probably introduced for the sake of the speech with which the story is ended:—"Let us hope that as long as Frenchmen, Russians, and wild beasts exist, things may turn out in the same way." To a Paris audience the allusion was obvious, and the speech drew thunders of applause. Here, in spite of the large French element in the theatre, it passes unnoticed. Another of the Attaché's speeches is on the subject of women, whereon M. Dumas has made him deliver a short lecture which owes more than half its effect to the perfectly finished acting of M. Porel, whose quiet and gracefully incisive diction gives a keen point to what is witty, and even suggests wit when there is none. The dialogue is, however, undoubtedly brilliant, and the scene is excellently arranged down to the Princess's pet doctor, who wakes up from his constant sleep to come and listen with an expectant and equally constant smile to

the Attaché. All this, however, has nothing to do with the action of the play. It is shown in this act that the result of Wladimir's paying court to the Princess Lydia has been her falling in love with him; and it is also told that the Princess's reputation is not altogether spotless. For this there seems no adequate reason; it only serves to show more strongly the objectionable nature of the Countess Danicheff's proceedings, and this is hardly necessary. The Countess appears upon the scene in the middle of this act, and shortly after her arrival her son learns her treachery from Roger de Taldé, upon which ensues a scene of fiery passion between him and the Countess. He tells her, with what disguise their relationship suggests, what he thinks of her conduct, and, having taken leave of the Princess with a deferential assurance that his attentions meant nothing, he rushes out vowing to kill Ossip and Anna and himself afterwards. The acting of M. Marais here has much concentration and power, but it has unfortunately gained in exaggeration and lost in real force since he played the part in Paris a month or two ago. M. Marais is an actor from whom very much might be hoped; but he seems in danger of following M. Mounet-Sully's example in taking violence for passion.

The third act takes us back to the Countess Danicheff's estates, where Ossip is established as steward in a small house with Anna. Their relations, it seems, ever since the enforced marriage have been those of brother and sister; and the fury of the young Count, who rushes in armed with a horse-whip, is changed to friendship and gratitude when he learns that Ossip has in this way paid his debt to his former master. The Countess has before this made her appearance upon the scene, and suggested a simple but undesirable way out of the difficulty caused by her son loving Ossip's wife; but she listens outside to the interview between Ossip and Wladimir, and at its end comes in prepared to do all she can to obtain a divorce and marry Wladimir to Anna. Upon M. Masset, who plays Ossip, the chief burden of this act falls; and in his acting we find the fault of too much tearfulness even more marked than it was in the earlier representations of the play. The grandeur of Ossip's conduct is marred by his calling constant attention to the grief which his sacrifice causes him; there should be something imposing and vigorous in the character, as well as the resignation and painfully humble gentleness on which M. Masset lays stress. M. Marais in this act again indulges too much in violence; the passion expressed in his face and gestures as he comes on the stage is good; but the inarticulate cries which he utters while he is tempted to strike Ossip are absolutely unmeaning.

The play would be better in construction and interest if it could be ended with the third act; the last, which is occupied with the overcoming of difficulties about a divorce, in spite of the excellent acting of Mme. Fargueil, Mlle. Antonine, who plays the Princess, and M. Porel, hangs fire. Wladimir has rashly applied to the Princess for help in obtaining a divorce, and she, with the resentment of a despised beauty, has used all her influence against, instead of for, him. The divorce is refused, and affairs seem hopeless, when Ossip saves the situation by performing a new act of heroism in retiring into a monastery. Even then a special dispensation is necessary, and the way in which this is obtained is singularly clumsy. There is also a shocking blunder in Ossip's last speech; just before he disappears into the oratory with the priest, he asks the pardon of all present if he has ever offended them, and then destroys all the merit of his behaviour by making this outrageous speech to Anna:—"Quant à toi, c'est moi qui te pardonne."

Les Danicheff is, with many faults, a fine play, and better in tone than some plays which have lately been popular in Paris; and the acting, throughout meritorious, is in the cases of Mme. Fargueil and M. Porel admirable.

EXAMINATION FOR ARMY COMMISSIONS.

COMPETITIVE examination for commissions in the army has now undergone a considerable trial, and if the numbers of those who enter for examination are to be taken as a test of its success, its admirers may well be congratulated. There are, however, points of view from which the system should be regarded which may not have so clearly presented themselves when it was first instituted. The first and main question is whether it produces the class of men who are likely to make the best officers. The second is whether the work which a young man has to do in order to achieve success in the examination is such as will lead him to continue his education, or whether it will not rather disgust him with what should form the foundation only of an officer's training. Thirdly, it may well be asked what effect will the failure and consequent disappointment of so many young men at the commencement of their career in life have on that portion of the youth of the country who form the class from which the army is mainly supplied with officers.

Since the abolition of purchase, and the consequent diminution of expense attendant on a career in the army, many more parents than formerly show a desire to gratify the military instincts of their boys, and thus the number of candidates for commissions has greatly increased. At the last examination in December 1875 five hundred youths went up to compete for one hundred and ten vacancies, whilst in the competition which will take place in the coming July the proportion of candidates for vacancies has increased to six hundred against one hundred and twenty. The examination to which these young men are subjected must consequently be a very severe one, and this notwithstanding the

wishes and endeavours of the examiners, as the most easy subject must necessarily be made an exacting test where so many perforce fail. Thus a few trifling faults in English spelling afford a means of getting rid of many competitors, and a false value is attached to correctness in a subject which, although important, has only an indirect bearing on the qualifications for a military career. When, however, so many must needs be disqualified, a hard and fast rule of rejection is an easy way of overcoming a difficulty. How, then, should this difficulty be met? Boldly to say that the best method of selecting officers is not by competitive examinations would at once cut the knot; but the system has so many supporters that it may be impossible to do away with it altogether, although its evils may in some measure be modified.

Besides the open competitions, there are other doors of entry into the army, notably that which the militia affords. So greatly has the desire of obtaining commissions increased that the nominations to the militia, and from the militia to the regular army, have become one of the most valuable pieces of patronage which any one can now hold. This patronage is entirely in the hands of militia colonels, who thus have the nominations to nearly half the vacant commissions in the army, a result which could scarcely have been foreseen when the system was first organized. In fact, whilst no regular officer, whatever rank he may hold, and no public functionary, however high he may stand in the State, can have any voice in an appointment to the army, many militia colonels have yearly in their hands the virtual gift of one, if not of two, commissions. True, the candidates have a qualifying examination to pass; but the difference between a qualifying examination and a competition, such as is now enforced, is far greater than could possibly have been intended. The existing anomaly is so great that it must soon engage the attention of the Government. In the meantime, may it not be a question whether the examinations for commissions might not be somewhat altered or enlarged?

It is a curious fact that, whilst at our public schools and Universities athletics have taken a position somewhat too prominent, no credit whatever is given to them in the examinations for a class of men who to mental vigour ought above all to unite physical excellence. It is needless to point out instances of men of feeble physique having become great generals; such exceptions may readily be granted; but, for good regimental officers, and for the ordinary subaltern, proficiency in bodily exercises is almost as requisite as excellence in mental training. Those who have even cursorily studied classical history will know the importance which the Greek States attached to the training of their youths in athletics. In fact, education then comprised far more than it does at the present time; it meant the formation, not of learned men, still less of learned priors, but of good citizens and of soldiers who would be able to hold their own in war by bodily as well as by intellectual vigour. Why cannot a somewhat similar result be aimed at in our army examinations? When commissions were given by nomination, young men too frequently neglected their schooling, and, whilst good at athletics, were bad at book-learning. A test examination established something like a proper balance, but the present system of open competition has inclined the scale too greatly on the other side. There is, however, no reason why the balance should not be restored by giving a certain credit to proficiency in athletic exercises. Marks might well be granted for riding, rowing, swimming, fencing, and gymnastics; and thus many a young fellow, sufficiently good in regard to book knowledge, but who would be certain to be beaten by another of higher or more precocious intellectual powers, might have a chance in a competition that would afford a test in subjects which all officers ought to excel in. Up to eighteen years of age the training of the youth should be the foundation for the education of the man, which must advance if it would not retrograde. Will the system of cramming for competitive examinations secure this object? If not, the system is unsound. When the proportion of commissions to candidates was somewhat more equally adjusted, the evils were not great; but, under present conditions, not only may the successful candidate be injured by weariness of work, but the rejected will be sent back disappointed at the commencement of life, and soured by the feeling of the unfairness of holding out so few prizes to so many competitors.

For many reasons the doors of entrance into the army should be increased in number. The best subaltern officers are often those who intend to serve only for a few years, and then to embrace some other career. These men will hardly care to face the chances of an excessive competition, and to risk the shame which, however unjustly, attaches itself to failure. But army discipline is no bad training for future good service to the country in other walks of life, and the nation as well as the army will lose by the exclusion of this class of men from its ranks—a class which the slowness of promotion consequent on the abolition of purchase renders peculiarly acceptable to those who desire to keep the army young, and consequently enterprising. Nominations, on the principle of scholarships, might be given to certain of our public schools and Universities, whilst possibly some restriction in regard to the length of service for officers might increase the number of commissions, as well as afford a means of weeding out men who fail in zeal or in proficiency. This suggestion, however, trenches on other ground, although bearing indirectly on our present subject, as the method of entrance into the army cannot be entirely separated from the consideration of the means of securing a rapid flow of promotion. But to confine ourselves to the matter more immediately at issue. The present system of open competition fails in regard to the tests which it furnishes;

it tends to an undue forcing of the intellectual powers at a critical period of life, thereby in many instances producing a reaction and a distaste for mental work; while it causes lads to be withdrawn from the wholesome society and discipline of the public schools to undergo instruction from tutors or examiners, who look to the cultivation of the intellect and the results of the examinations far more than to the moral conduct of their pupils.

No one connected with the army, and who has its interests at heart, can fail to perceive the good which education has done in raising the character of its officers. For the measures taken to forward this education, the majority of the senior officers who are responsible for the discipline of the army feel gratitude to those who have introduced recent improvements; but at the same time the risk attendant on an undue forcing of the system is not small, and it should be met before failure produces a reaction which, in the endeavour to remedy the evils of the present competitive examinations, may destroy much that is good. It would be no retrograde step to introduce competition in physical as well as in mental exercises; the *mens sana in corpore sano* is above all things necessary for fighting men, and it should never be forgotten that the officer as well as the soldier must be a fighting man. He may be a thinking and a reading man; but unless he has capabilities for marching, for fighting, and for leading those under him by example as well as precept, he will fail when the test of war is applied to him. In no bodily exercise ought the soldiers to excel their officer; in mental training the latter must of course be *facile princeps*, but he ought also to be able to take the lead in all that conduces to excellence in manly vigour. To widen the scope of competitive examination would not in any way militate against its principles, nor should the proposal alarm its advocates; it would be merely recognizing the importance of including in its tests trials for bodily as well as for mental excellence, and thus furthering the objects of all true education.

THE BATTLE OF MORAT.

ALTHOUGH the celebration of anniversaries has been lately overdone, the Swiss may be forgiven for reminding Europe that, on the 22nd day of June, 1476, the battle of Morat was fought. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance to civilization of the events of which the Swiss victory over the Duke of Burgundy is the most conspicuous. The life of that rash and headstrong prince is strangely mixed up with the history of two republics whose rise was assisted by his death; and when we remember how much of religious and civil liberty the world owes to Holland and Switzerland, we may allow that the hardy foresters who fought afterwards for whoever would pay them fought on that day for all mankind. The military glory of the Cantons, like the naval fame of the United Provinces, belongs wholly to the past. It is not so much the character of the people as the circumstances of the world that have changed. Great Powers become greater, while small Powers remain at best the same; and they are glad to embrace that neutrality which their mighty neighbours find it convenient to allow.

The Dukes of Burgundy were of the blood royal of France, and they acquired by marriage the rights of the Counts of Flanders. The father of Charles the Bold possessed at his death the modern Bourgogne and Franche Comté, the duchies of Brabant, Limbourg, and Luxembourg, and nearly all the other countries now comprehended in the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. Charles acquired Alsace, a possession well calculated to unite his otherwise disjointed territories, and he nearly obtained from the Emperor the title of King. If prudence had gone along with power and opportunity, he might have established a kingdom intermediate between France and Germany. The best description of his dominions may perhaps be given in the statement that almost the whole of the familiar railway route from Basle to Brussels lay within them. His father was the reputed founder of the library of Brussels and the University of Dôle; and, although he was frequently in conflict with the turbulent citizens of Bruges and Ghent, yet Comines says of him and his that he clipped his subjects little, "and it seems to me that these lands might better be termed lands of promise than any other lordships upon the earth." Considering that he held all that we now call Burgundy, and part of what we now call Champagne, it must be owned that Comines had a good eye for country. The character and career of Charles are best known to English readers from the romance of *Quentin Durward*, which, although it takes some liberties with facts, gives generally a correct notion of the period. Louis XI. of France visited Charles at Peronne, and attempted to cajole him by negotiation, at the same moment when by his agents he was secretly prompting the people of Liège to rise against their Bishop, who was under the protection of the Duke of Burgundy. Unluckily the Liégeois revolted while Louis was still in the power of Charles, and he compelled the King to go with him to the siege of Liège, which he took and burned, driving out the inhabitants to perish by cold, hunger, and hostile peasantry. He had succeeded his father in 1467, and his wrath fell on the Liégeois in the following year. In 1475 he possessed himself of the Duchy of Lorraine, which further consolidated his dominions; but already he had been involved in hostilities with the Emperor on one side, while his inveterate enemy, the King of France, was always watching him on the other. The turbulent cities of the Netherlands may have been awed by the fate of Liège; but at the other end of

his dominions he touched another people equally audacious, whose military prowess was not enfeebled by prosperity.

Last year the Swiss observed the five hundredth anniversary of the defeat of the Gugglers, or French and English mercenaries, by the Bernese. The three Forest Cantons had at this time been joined by five others of which Bern was one. In 1386 Leopold II. of Austria was defeated and killed at Sempach, of which the celebration will be due ten years hence. If the Americans have not had enough of this kind of thing in their own country, they can get a little more in Switzerland, merely substituting four or five hundred years for a single century. During more than a century after the battle of Sempach the Swiss sustained wars for independence, and undertook wars for conquest. The Forest Cantons invaded the valleys South of the Alps, and constituted subject bailiwicks where now we find the Canton of Ticino. The Valais revolted against the lord of Raron and became an independent State allied to the Cantons. The Graubund about the same time was formed by the inhabitants of the valleys of the Upper Rhine, who were weary of the oppression of their feudal lords, and entered into a compact to defend each other's property and persons, and compel their lords to respect the same. The men in grey smock frocks who met under the maple-tree at Trons, and swore to observe this league, founded another independent State, which afterwards became the Canton of Grisons. These were some of the steps which mark the growing power of that confederacy of which the Forest Cantons were the heart. In 1457 Mühlhausen, an Imperial town of Alsace, formed an alliance with the Swiss, and thus they touched the dominions of Charles the Bold, and must inevitably come to blows with him. But it was yet eighteen years before he undertook to do to Bern and Zürich as he had done to Liège. The success that had hitherto attended his enterprises had increased the natural arrogance of his temper; and, on the other hand, the newer democratic organization of the Swiss had continually prevailed in conflict with their feudal lords. His first battle with the Swiss was at Granson, near the south-west extremity of the Lake of Neuchâtel, and they defeated him, although far inferior in numerical force. This was in March 1476, and in June, having collected a larger army, he was again defeated by the Swiss, who had not much more than half his strength. The town of Morat is on the small lake of the same name which is near the north-east extremity of the Lake Neuchâtel, and seventeen miles from Bern. In January following Charles, who, as we have said, had possessed himself of the Duchy of Lorraine, laid siege to Nancy, where he was attacked by the Duke of Lorraine, aided by the Swiss, and killed in battle. Thus this spirited people did not await attack in their own country, but sought their enemy and struck him wherever they could find him. Granson is in the Pays de Vaud, which was then dependent on Savoy, and was afterwards formed by the Cantons into subject bailiwicks. Here the Swiss surprised Charles, and took from him an immense booty. With his larger army he overcame the Pays de Vaud, but the confederates put a garrison into Morat, so as to be on his flank if he advanced to Bern, which he must do if he would attack the vitals of the Confederacy. After the victory of Morat the Swiss followed their enemy into Lorraine, and made an end of him. Thus, as the Swiss are fond of saying, Charles, in his three encounters with them, lost successively "Gut, Muth, und Blut."

An opinion is ascribed to Napoleon condemning the position chosen by the Swiss at Morat, but they seem to have known what they were about. The energy and decision of the young Republic is the more remarkable if we consider its extent. Bern was the eighth Canton, and Soleure and Freiburg were not admitted until after the death of Charles, nor Basle until 1501, when independence was secure. Henceforth the Swiss fought not for existence, but for honour and profit; and whatever glory belongs to mercenary service was theirs abundantly. They formed a league with the Pope and the King of Spain against the French, and fought stoutly and suffered heavy loss at Marignano, but they could not keep King Francis I. out of Milan. By the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 the Swiss Confederation was acknowledged as an independent State. It is interesting to observe that the three Forest Cantons are largely Roman Catholic, while Bern and Zürich are almost as largely Protestant. There were religious wars in Switzerland, and the Protestants were defeated in a battle in which their chaplain Zwingli was killed. We are told that peace was made on the principle of reciprocal non-interference, and perhaps the world owes something to Switzerland for making early application of this principle, which was manifestly the only alternative to the breaking up of the Confederacy. We should have mentioned that Lucerne, which was the fourth Canton, is very largely Roman Catholic, while in Glarus and Zug, which with Zürich made the next three, Protestantism predominates. Thus the original Confederacy which broke the power of Charles the Bold, and by which the popular prevailed over the feudal principle, was devoted about half and half to the new and the old faith. This fact deserves attention because Geneva enjoyed liberty under the shadow of the Confederacy, and thence Calvin propagated a very distinct form of Protestantism. In later times the military character of the Swiss was well maintained in the French service, and when they were attacked by the mob in the Tuileries they might, Napoleon thought, have won if they had had a commander. As it was, they could only die for a fallen prince and a failing cause. As their monument at Lucerne commemorates, "Ne sacramenti fidem fallerent fortissime pugnantes ceciderunt."

The garrison of Morat, which stood a ten days' siege before the army came to its relief, were men of Bern, and this fact is not likely to be forgotten by the town which cherishes the memory of Rudolf von Erlach and keeps bears. As long as it was possible, the Swiss performed the natural duty of mountaineers—

To spoil the spoiler as they may,
And with strong hand reclaim the prey.

Now they collect the wealth of foreigners by gentler methods than rifling their corpses. But the modern foreigners, like the knights and nobles of Duke Charles, are still so obliging as to come into their country to be stripped. Patriotic pride might well arise among the Swiss who have met this week at Morat; for their fathers who fought there changed the current of European history, and gave freedom of thought and action to the world. The pulpit of Geneva and the press of Holland owed their existence to the stubborn courage of the peasants who bore down the chivalry of Burgundy.

THE THEATRES.

THE revival, after four-and-twenty years, of the *Corsican Brothers* at the Princess's Theatre has been made less carefully than a hopeful experiment demanded. After all that has been done to gratify the modern taste for strong sensation, this still remains the unrivalled model of what a "thrilling" drama ought to be. The rare merit of its construction was enhanced by some felicities of illustration. If we turn to the first edition of *Master Humphrey's Clock*, we shall find a picture of Sir John Chester lying wounded on the ground, while his antagonist in shirt-sleeves wipes his bloody sword. The vision of the death of Louis dei Franchi in the first act was taken from that picture. Again, there was a small French picture, now unfortunately destroyed, representing the preparations for a military duel, in which one of the parties was a dragon wearing the long, plaited locks which the cavalry of the First Empire borrowed from the Hungarian hussars. This picture was seen by Mr. Alfred Wigan when he was rehearsing the part of Château Renaud, and the look and attitude of this soldier as he rolls up his shirt-sleeve before engaging were imitated in preparing for the duel with Fabien dei Franchi in the last act. The original representatives of these characters in England had improved the gifts of nature by constant study and practice in all the business of the stage; and if we compare the revival of this play with its first performance, our object is not to depreciate the present, but to enforce on the actors of our day a much-needed lesson of the past. Although Mr. Charles Kean had not his father's genius, he had that intense devotion to the work of his profession which attains some of the effects of genius. The finished acting of Mr. Alfred Wigan is still remembered and regretted as a loss which the stage could ill support, although the public did not always show their value of the good thing while they had it. One could hardly form a hopeful estimate of the future of the British stage from seeing Mr. Alfred Wigan playing in the first piece of a night to an audience which had evidently come to secure places for seeing Mr. Toole in the second piece. But there has been within the last few years an improvement in public taste, and, without interfering with Mr. Toole, the stage would now find room for Mr. Alfred Wigan if it had him. He was succeeded in the part of Château Renaud by Mr. Walter Lacy, who also represented it efficiently; but to Mr. Charles Kean and Mr. Alfred Wigan belongs the credit of introducing the most impressive combat that has been seen on the modern stage. The secret of their success lay in their perfect mastery of the weapons which they used; and the best praise that can be given to the present actors of these parts is that they imitate at a long interval a performance which is not likely to be equalled. If the movements of the swords were described in technical terms, we believe that they would be the same now as when the play was first produced; but the movements of the swordsmen now recall rather the boxing-ring than the fencing-school. Their mode of circling round the stage resembles that of performers with the gloves at a sparring benefit; but it has the advantage of allowing them to be well seen from all parts of the house, and it is only fair to say that this fight is highly appreciated by the pit and gallery. The modern Château Renaud indicates passion and intensity by becoming wide and wild in movement, whereas Mr. Wigan used to fence better as he grew excited, and sometimes looked as if he would win the fight and spoil the play. The swords are of course changed before breaking, and visitors to the theatre may amuse themselves by trying to fix the exact moment at which this is done. Mr. Clayton having, as Fabien, killed Château Renaud, has to appear finally as the ghost of Louis, contemplating that result with satisfaction; and if it were not absurd to suggest that a ghost could be out of breath, we should fancy that the exertion necessary for the rapid change is slightly too much for a gentleman who labours under something of Hamlet's disability for fencing. The faults of detail which we observe in this performance will probably be to some extent corrected by further practice. If the company is not strong, the play is; and if the masked ball and the duel are made the most of, the contrast of the two scenes in the Opera House and the Forest will powerfully affect the audience.

In some respects the lapse of time has told unfavourably on this play. Modern playgoers when they hear that Fabien was aware of the death of Louis ten hours after it occurred, probably infer that he has received a telegram. And the remark that "the use by Château Renaud of his skill of fence to kill Louis is

a kind of murder," is now such an obvious truism that even the gallery hardly displays its usual indiscriminating appetite for platitudes. Nevertheless it is possible that this play may come to have a higher moral value than it had a quarter of a century ago. Under the strictest sect of secularists, it would apparently be possible for children to grow to manhood without ever having met with the idea of guilt and retribution, unless they happened to pick it up in the gallery of a theatre. The path of stern avenging destiny is marked in this play as clearly as in a Greek tragedy, and it was the consciousness that he was the appointed Minister of Punishment for crime that made Fabien so calmly persistent in his assault on the murderer of Louis. This was Mr. Charles Kean's conception of his part in the last scene, and he used all the resources of art to give effect to it; while Mr. Alfred Wigan, on the other hand, showed, through natural hardihood and confidence in well-proved skill, his sense that the hour was come and the avenger of blood was ready. The more closely and carefully this revival follows the original performance, the greater, we believe, will be the hold which the play will gain upon the public. The production of the *Corsican Brothers* under Mr. Charles Kean's management is not only a pleasing memory, but a useful lesson. It teaches that careful practice in the mechanical part of the actor's business can alone give that ease and confidence which are necessary to make the last scene of this play thoroughly effective.

There have been several plays on the subject of strikes, but their success has not been encouraging; and, indeed, the scenes which they exhibit are too real to be agreeable. The author of "Bread and Cheese and Kisses" has perceived that a pot of money was necessary to complete his story, and herein it truly pictures life. Unfortunately, however, the families involved in strikes have not always a friend returning rich and generous from gold-digging, and the simplicity of the contrivances of the drama founded on this story are not compensated by any originality of character or language. The third act of *Home, Sweet Home* makes, indeed, rather an ambitious attempt at novelty; for it represents a gold-digger's tent in New Zealand buried with its inmates under a heavy fall of snow. There is the hero of the play, Saul Fielding, and one of the most villainous of stage villains accusing him of murdering his wife in England, and a court of miners, who try, and are about to hang, him on the simple principle that the woman is believed to be dead, and he was the last person seen with her. A great lawyer laid down the rule, which accords with common sense, that you should not try a man for murder unless a body be produced or satisfactorily accounted for; and this rule is observed in the present case, with the slight variation of the body being alive. Even without the advantage of reading Mr. Farjeon's story, it is only too easy to foretell the vicissitudes of his play; and experience teaches that, if the hero finds his way to the antipodes, the heroine will not remain at home, and if she is his wife, a child will probably accompany her wanderings. A snowstorm in the third act, however cleverly contrived, cannot command our belief in its destructive power when we know that the personages exposed to it will be wanted for the final tableau of the fourth act, and we are unable, therefore, to regard the sinking of the tent under the weight of superincumbent snow as anything else than an ingenious mechanical effect. The hero has not escaped hanging merely to be smothered. However, there is the tent amid the snow, and when it falls, a range of mountains appear behind it, while the hero climbs a tree, and drags his wife and child up after him beyond the reach of death, while the band plays agonizing strains until the curtain falls, with loud applause. The moral and economical sentiments with which the drama abounds are heartily welcomed by the gallery, who perhaps like old friends best. More fastidious listeners will perhaps regret that a competent company should be employed in elaborately doing nothing. The only character that affords any scope for acting is that of an old grocer, in which Mr. W. J. Hill does his best to correct the oppressive dreariness of the strike. Water for tea, lard for butter, and limited bread for abundance, do not constitute picturesque misery; and, whatever else may be said for the English working classes, it cannot be pretended that they look well on the stage. It is difficult to discover any elements of permanent popularity in this play, and Mr. Henry Neville, both as actor and manager of the Olympic Theatre, must feel the want of a good new part.

Among many disastrous experiments in adaptation from the French, the piece called the *Wedding March*, derived from *Chapeau de paille d'Italie*, remains an unsurpassed success. Something of the same kind, although not so good, has been attempted at the Criterion Theatre, where the *Great Divorce Case* undeniably amuses people on whom the fun of *Le Procès Veauvadioux* would perhaps be lost. We can feel nothing but sympathy for Miss Henrietta Hodson, who has stated in the *Times* that she and her fellow-actors went to Paris under instructions to attend nightly the performance of *L'Etrangère*, and reproduce exactly what they saw there. Whether or not Mlle. Croisette is like a particular kind of French duchess Miss Hodson cannot say, but she can say that she has carefully copied the French actress's "business" as per contract. The managers of the Haymarket Theatre have thus reduced the adaptation of French plays to an absurdity, and it may be hoped that they will not repeat a costly and hazardous experiment. The manager of the Lyceum, having done all that could be done for *Queen Mary*, reverted some time since to stock pieces of the theatre; and although the *Bells* cannot be compared as a sensational play with the *Corsican Brothers*, Mr. Irving has not lost

the hold which the part of Mathias gave him on the public mind. We observe with greater pleasure his success in the part so widely different of Doricourt in the *Belle's Stratagem*, which has made a pleasant afterpiece, and shows a healthy desire on his part to diverge occasionally from the dismal groove of conscience-stricken murderers. There can be no doubt of the talent of an actor who can play both Mathias and Doricourt as well as Mr. Irving does. Whether that talent has been always wisely used is another question. But, at any rate, both he and the manager of the Lyceum deserve the compliment of Miss Helen Faucit's appearance at his benefit.

RACING AT ASCOT.

THE Cup day at Ascot has other charms than those of racing, else the largest assemblage ever seen on the Royal heath would have found scanty recompense for the tedious and troublesome journey to the course. For once the railway arrangements, usually so excellent, proved unequal to the occasion; and those who neglected to make an early start from London missed the first two races, which, however, like most of the events of the day, were only of the faintest interest. After the example made by Springfield of such opponents as Brigg Boy and Rosbach in the Fernhill Stakes, it was of course a certainty that he would dispose of Concha in his Thursday's race without difficulty; and, if he could stay, Mr. Houldsworth's horse would be able to hold his own with the best of his year. He has only one solitary engagement, however, in the Select Stakes at the Newmarket Second October Meeting, for which Kisber, Forerunner, and Petrarch are also entered; and he is evidently so much improved that, if he keeps well till the autumn, the Derby winner may not find it so easy a task as it was last year to give the son of St. Albans and Viridis a three-lengths' beating. For the New Biennial Stakes over the Old Mile Chapelet was opposed by Allumette, Appeal, and Father Claret; and the second in the One Thousand, in receipt of a stone for the year, pressed rather closely on Lord Hartington's mare towards the finish, but, dying away in the last fifty yards, was beaten by a length. We expected Chapelet to win far more easily in such moderate company; but she has been doing a great deal of work of late. Lowlander, invincible as ever over a six-furlong course up a hill, ran away from Brigg Boy—another overworked, as well as overrated, horse—in the All Aged Stakes; and then came the Gold Cup—though why it should be called gold, when not an ounce of that metal enters into its composition, we are at a loss to know. There was no Doncaster and no Boiard among the entries this year; and, as there was nothing to show that Apology had returned to her three-year-old form, the race was generally looked on as a match between Forerunner, at best an indifferent second in the Derby, and Craig Millar, winner of the St. Leger in the worst Leger field ever known. Balie's chance was quite put out by his running for the Gold Vase on the first day of the meeting; The Ghost was only started as an *avant-courier* for his stable-companion Talisman; and Talisman himself, better known as Figaro II., had done little to recommend him for a race of this description. His two best performances last season were at Newmarket in October, when he ran Louise Victoria to a head for the combined Queen's Plates, and a month later at Lincoln, when he ran a dead heat with Lily Agnes for the Queen's Plate at that meeting. But this was not Ascot Cup form, and, besides, Figaro II. had other opportunities during the year of winning races, of which he failed to take advantage. On the whole, the solitary three-year-old, Forerunner, in the field of six, appeared to have the best chance, inasmuch as this year's three-year-olds cannot be worse and are probably better than those of last year, and consequently the preference was given to him over Craig Millar. Had these expectations been fulfilled, the race would have been regarded with languid interest; but the victory of Apology was not only a surprise, but also a matter for congratulation to those who remembered the daughter of Adventurer in the full flush of her brilliant three-year-old career, and had feared that the Oaks and St. Leger victor of 1874 had permanently lost her form. After The Ghost had fulfilled his mission to the best of his ability, and had made the running for about a mile, Apology took it up, and had the race thenceforth to herself. First Talisman, then Forerunner, and lastly Craig Millar challenged the North Country mare, but one and all equally failed to deprive her of the lead, and in the end she won easily by a length. Craig Millar, however, who had been specially prepared for this race, fairly beat Forerunner for second honours, proving thereby that the three-year-olds are nothing very wonderful, or—which is more likely the truth—that Kisber stands far removed from them in a class quite by himself. In the New Stakes Rob Roy, with a 5 lbs. penalty, made his second appearance, and won just as easily as on the first day of the meeting. The most noteworthy of his seven opponents were Sunray, a daughter of the King of the Forest and Sunshine, and St. Christophe, a son of Mortemer and Isoline, both of whom are rarely bred for racing; but neither of them could get near the gallant son of Blair Athol, who is for the present fairly established at the head of the two-year-olds. Unfortunately Rob Roy is not engaged in the Middle Park Plate, but he is entered for the Criterion Stakes at the Houghton Meeting. Six speedy horses, Tangible, Ecossais, Oomawie, Brigg Boy, The Gunner, and Prince Arthur, came to the post for the Windsor Limited Handicap; and of these Tangible, whose recent performances have been very bad, was treated by the handicapper as if his

racing days were over and gone. But though he may have lost some of his dash and fire, old Tangible is still able to gallop, and under such a feather-weight for a six-year-old as 7 st. 10 lbs., he revived the recollections of former days and made his antagonists stand still. The St. James's Palace Stakes ended in a match between Great Tom and Glacis, and after an exciting finish the judge was unable to separate the pair. It is a curious circumstance that last year in this very same race Mr. Crawford ran a dead heat with Craig Millar against Bay of Naples. Then, however, the race was run off, and Craig Millar was defeated, but on this occasion a compromise was effected and the stakes were divided.

There were as rich prizes to be won on the Friday as on any preceding day, for there was the Alexandra Plate with a thousand sovereigns, the Wokingham Stakes with five hundred, and the Maiden and Ascot Plates each with three hundred added; so that on the whole very nearly ten thousand pounds of added money was distributed over the four days, and it is wonderful that such liberality does not attract a larger number of horses to the post. It must be acknowledged, however, that the altered conditions of the Wokingham Stakes made that race a triumphant success—made it, in fact, a second and by no means an inferior edition of the Royal Hunt Cup. The twenty-three runners included many of the Hunt Cup field, such as Thorn—carrying 9 st. 10 lbs. instead of 9 st. 4 lbs.—The Mandarin, Hesper, Spinoza, and Chieftain. Of new comers there were Pearl Drop, the feather-weight of the handicap, Trappist, Lemnos, Lady Atholstone, and others. In the Hunt Cup it will be remembered that The Mandarin finished fourth, a head only from Thorn, who in turn was only a head from Dalham. It was a pretty general opinion that The Mandarin was second best in the race, and that, if Hobbloom had been out of the way, he would as nearly as possible have won. He was now meeting Thorn on 5 lbs. better terms, and therefore there was a good opportunity for proving whether that opinion was right or wrong. It was soon clear that no mistake had been made, for at the foot of the hill The Mandarin took up the running, and, never being again headed, won in a canter by four lengths. Eleven ran for the Ascot Plate over the mile and a quarter course, the conditions being that the lowest weight should be 7 st. Thus the race was of the nature of a welter handicap, such as have not been uncommon of late years at Newmarket. Controversy was of course honoured with the top weight, Dalham with 10 st. 3 lbs. coming next to him, while, as in the Ascot Stakes, Bersaglier was most favoured in the handicapping. There was so much confusion and so many disappointments during the race, that the chances of half at least of the competitors were destroyed. Bersaglier, however, was fairly beaten some way from home, and failed to justify the good impression he created three days before by his performance in the Ascot Stakes. Controversy was so shut in that he could never get into the front rank, and Dalham, who ultimately won by a head from the greatest outsider of the eleven, Fair Saunteress, was repeatedly disappointed during the race, and only managed to get through at the very last moment. The turns at Ascot might certainly be improved. For the Alexandra Plate, Freeman, New Holland, Scamp, Talisman, and Activity were found at the post; and after Talisman, who ran very well for two miles and a half, was done with, the second in the Gold Vase had the most to fear from New Holland, who has certainly grown into a fine stayer, and, being thoroughly sound, may do his owner good service over Cup courses another year. Freeman, who seems to have quite lost that ill-temper which formerly militated against his success, and for whom no distance is too far, well deserved this rich prize, if only for the gallant fight he made with Thunder on the first day of the meeting. Ascot closed with a second and most crushing defeat for Petrarch, and, after his inglorious exhibition on the Wednesday, it was astonishing that his owner felt inclined to risk his reputation a second time. After his defeat by Coltness, Petrarch was, we understand, subjected to a veterinary examination, and was pronounced quite sound. Accordingly, when on the Friday he had only Fetterlock and Correggio—horses far below Coltness in form—to beat, his friends once more rallied round him, and declined to believe that the Two Thousand and Prince of Wales's Stakes winner could have sunk in three days to the level of a common plater. Their confidence was ill rewarded; for even in this indifferent company Petrarch refused to make an effort, and was fairly distanced by horses to whom on the Two Thousand day he could have given a couple of stone. Of course he is pretty freely denounced as a rogue and a cur; but to us it certainly seemed that he ran as if in suffering; and we all remember how a genuinely good horse like Hermit was afflicted with some malady which paralysed his efforts, and yet for a long time baffled investigation. We suspect that Petrarch may be a sufferer in some similar way, for in the Middle Park Plate, the Two Thousand, and the Derby he showed no signs of temper.

The yearling sales on the second and third Saturdays of June have strikingly contrasted with each other. On the former day fifteen of her Majesty's yearlings, bred at Hampton Court, were offered, and were disposed of for an average of little more than one hundred guineas apiece. For the most part these yearlings had little to recommend them, either in breeding or in looks; and we should say they fetched their full value. Last Saturday, on the other hand, forty-one yearlings bred at the Cobham Stud realized an average of over 361 guineas, and Mr. Coombe's six yearlings reached the unprecedented average of 1,133 guineas. Here is proof enough that there are purchasers in plenty of young stock if a good article is put before them; and this fact

suggests the inquiry whether, if the Royal Stud is worth keeping up at all, it would not be well to reform its management, so that it should not be so hopelessly left in the lurch by its rivals. Once the annual sale at Hampton Court was one of the events of the season; but now it has degenerated into a mere farce, and the weedy yearlings annually disposed of are evidently bought more in the hope that by some lucky accident they may repay their purchase-money than from any belief in their merits. In the meanwhile the energy and enterprise of the proprietors of other breeding establishments are meeting with their due reward. The managers of the Cobham Stud take care to be ever on the look-out for promising sires and mares of approved strains; and if, as is asserted, they have succeeded in getting Blue Gown back to this country, they may confidently look forward to a still higher return on their outlay than they have hitherto obtained. Last Saturday the young Blair Athol bore away the palm, the two victories of Rob Roy at Ascot having been achieved at a most seasonable moment. A brother to Ladylove fetched 2,300, and a son of Madame Eglantine 1,150, guineas; while the young Scottish Chiefs ran a good second to the scions of the mighty chestnut who won the Derby in one of the best of years when only half trained. A sister to Highland Fling fetched 1,052, and daughters of Polias and Black Rose reached 760 and 750 guineas respectively. Nor were the Rosicrucians left out in the cold, a son of Sir Joseph Hawley's beautiful horse out of a Buccaneer mare going for 900 guineas. But the climax came when the six yearlings from Mr. Coombe's select stud were offered for sale. Of these the second, a son of Lord Clifden and Weatherside, went for a round thousand; the third, a son of Blair Athol and Miss Merryweather, for 750 guineas; and the fourth, a son of Macaroni and The Duchess, for the enormous sum of 4,100 guineas. This last price fairly takes one's breath away. How can the purchaser hope for a return on his outlay, except on the somewhat extravagant supposition that his new property will escape all the ills that horse-flesh is heir to, all the accidents of training, and all the chances of the racecourse, will make the desired improvement from the first year to the second, and from the second to the third, and will finally sweep off several of the most coveted prizes of the Turf, in face of all competition, foreign as well as English? The history of high-priced yearlings is not encouraging to sanguine purchasers; and though of course every one will say that he hopes the son of Macaroni and The Duchess will escape the doom that waited on Angus, on Crinon, and on many another highbred yearling that left the sale ring amid a tempest of cheers, we cannot help regretting to see horses bought and sold at prices which can only be recovered by an exceptional run of good luck.

REVIEWS.

THE SHORES OF LAKE ARAL.*

MAJOR WOOD had the good luck to accompany an expedition sent in the year 1874 to examine the Amu Darya, the Syr Darya, and the shores of Lake Aral. He had a passport from the Grand Duke Constantine, and he enjoyed the society of Russian officials whose object it was to survey the country; while for him, as a member of the scientific Corps of Engineers, the exploration must have had peculiar attraction. Readers will avoid disappointment if, before entering on the merits of the book, they know what they are not to expect. The author is, we should say, neither a naturalist nor a botanist. He does not seem to possess any aptitude for picking up Oriental languages, nor can he survey an *aoul*, or make himself at home in a *kibitka*, with the sympathetic geniality of M. Vambéry or the ease of Captain Burton. Russia, which as a civilizing Power excites in him lively hopes, rouses in his breast neither anger for past deceit nor apprehension of future aggression. On the contrary, he regards the advance of General Kaufmann to the Oxus as the surest guarantee for peace. His work, however, only skirts the arena of political disquisition. It is mainly taken up with altitudes and depressions, changes in beds of rivers, the loose guesses of ancient historians, or the more sober speculations of modern explorers. Major Wood is clearly a man of reading and acquirements, and he may almost be said to have subjected the strange country which he visited under the most fortunate of auspices to the test of a surveyor who has maps in his haversack and theodolites and chains in his hands. When he is describing what he saw round a dreary morass or on the deck of a steamer, or when he explains the process by which, in the course of centuries, the Oxus has formed a new channel and vegetation has utterly perished, he is as lucid and logical as the nature of his subject permits. Unfortunately, on one or two occasions, he is tempted into what the first Lord Ellenborough called "the high sentimental latitudes," and he does not seem always happy in his choice of words. The preliminary work of Russia's civilization "involves," we are told, "the re-establishment of disputed terraqueous harmonies"; "a recurrence to the original commercial schemes of Peter the Great must inevitably accentuate a peace policy in the East as well as necessitate a close approximation to England's earnest desire for the undisturbed rest which will assure the continuous development of European civilization in Asia." Then, again, "The wreck and ruin of nature, the dry bones of a

once fecund earth . . . may perhaps be due to a want of brain power, and to an incapacity for scientific observation, that rendered the Turanian hordes powerless." At the Lake of Geneva, on his return, he seems somewhat to maunder, as he remarks that "the mountain glaciers sparkling in the sun, or the soothing stillness of the deep blue lake, touch strings of harmony within each throbbing breast, while grief and doubt, with the bitterness these bring, are chased like evil dreams before the morning dawn." We prefer, on the whole, his geographical and statistical to his poetic mood; for, as the contribution of a skilled workman, the book is one which really repays a close and careful study. We may add that perusal is much facilitated by a good map, which is folded into a pocket, the right place for such documents, instead of encumbering the title-page. We could only wish that all publishers of books which require such aids would adopt this sensible practice.

Major Wood's starting-point was the town of Samara, on the Volga. He describes it as a young city of glittering cupolas and pinnacles, with party-coloured roofs, which present a pleasing picture at sunrise. From this town he went to Orenburg, and thence to Orsk, Irgiz, and the Aralain steppe. As his work centres in the Sea of Aral, it is very necessary to take in, at starting, the following particulars regarding the second in magnitude of the Central Asian inland seas. It is one hundred times bigger than the Lake of Geneva, or very little inferior to Scotland in extent. An alternative description gives it an area of 24,000 square miles. Nowhere is the depth more than thirty-seven fathoms; at the edges the lake is often nothing more than an unattractive green swamp, tenanted by aquatic birds, waders and divers; and the southern shores especially have been rapidly silting up, owing to their reception of the waters of the Oxus. Lake Aibougir, at the south-western extremity, is no longer what it seemed to M. Vambéry. It has practically ceased to exist, and is a dry expanse of clay. There are cliffs on the western shore, under which the waters attain their greatest depth. But there is ample testimony to show that the supply has been regularly diminishing for the last two centuries. Traces of waves are now found high up on the sides. Buildings once on the shore are now several hours from the water; and it is calculated that if the Jaxartes were to fail, and the Oxus were again to be diverted to its former bed, in less than a century the whole Aral Lake would vanish. It is difficult to convey an idea of the desolation of this humid tract. A sea in which there are neither harbours, nor boats, nor commerce; which in summer is brackish and unpleasant; which is frozen in the depth of winter; which is varied here and there by a succession of semi-floating islands, where the mosquitoes are more aggressive and irritating than the same little pests in the rivers of Burma or the swamps of Eastern Bengal; where miserable fishermen manage to extract a subsistence out of reeds growing on muddy deposits; where pasturage diminishes, and yet agriculture does not increase; and which occasionally is cleared by swarms of locusts that come there periodically to lay their eggs—does seem to us one where nature is either exhausted or repellent, and man's toil must be thrown away. The practical effect of the flow of two great rivers into the Aral Lake, and the transformations which the country is still undergoing, are discussed by Major Wood with much earnestness, ingenuity, and thought. It is hardly worth while to inquire seriously whether, in prehistoric times, the Euxine, the Caspian, and the Aral were all united to form one huge inland ocean, or to speculate on the chances of our finding some engineer, even bolder than M. Lesseps, who, by the simple expedient of damming up the waters of the Bosphorus to the height of 220 feet, would undertake to reproduce such a condition of things. Nor do we wish to dwell too much on the hints thrown out that, in the times of Herodotus, the Aral had some direct communication with the Polar ocean; or on facts which lend probability to the theory that there has been an "intermittent flow of the Aral into the Caspian." Major Wood may fairly contend that, from the times of Strabo and Pliny down to Arabian writers of the middle ages, there were periods in which the Aral and the Caspian held direct communication with each other. What is far more suggestive and important is the series of chapters on the changes of the bed of the Oxus. This is no new discovery; but the facts arrayed in order by this author show, it appears to us, quite conclusively that the Oxus ceased to find its way to the Caspian about the time of our great Civil War, or the middle of the seventeenth century. The leading idea seems to be that, as the waters of the Oxus were diverted for purposes of irrigation, the volume became less, and was easily turned from its old courses across the Khwarezmian desert. Regarding its present entrance by three main streams, with smaller branches, into the Sea of Aral, Major Wood argues that they do not form a delta in the strict sense in which we apply that term to the Nile or the Lower Ganges. There is, he shows, a rapid and an unusual inclination from the point where the three arms diverge; but the subject is too scientific and formal to be discussed at length in this place. The whole of these chapters, and the details of the cultivation and the physical aspect of the country near Khodjiali, Kungrad, and Cimbye, all three between Khiva and the southern shore of the Aral, will repay careful study.

Major Wood appears to have steamed up the Jaxartes as well as the Oxus, and his deductions from the flow of the latter river are extremely curious, if not absolutely convincing. Other great streams, such as the Nile, the Mississippi, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra, carry towards the sea, during the rainy season, large quantities of rich, alluvial, fertilizing deposit or silt. The Oxus, on the contrary, rolls down, in solution as it were, an im-

* *The Shores of Lake Aral.* By Herbert Wood, Major, Royal Engineers. With Maps. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1876.

mense deal of foreign gritty matter which is really worthless, being triturated rock or sand. The water is taken by the Khivans and others, not for what it brings with it, but for its own stimulating effect on the hard clay of Khwarezm. So far from the deposit having a beneficial effect, it has to be cleared out yearly from the canals into which it is carried by irrigation, and it is because this process covers each square mile of ground with eleven yards of sand in the year that we now see barren deserts instead of cornlands and orchards. There is, however, a little difficulty in the adoption of this theory. How is it that the tract now irrigated by the waters of the Oxus is still fertile, and produces, among other things, the famous melons of Khiva? The arid and unfruitful space is precisely that which is just beyond the reach of irrigation. It is, of course, not impossible, as contended, that four thousand years ago the Oxus may have rushed with a mightier flow over a wider space, and that, as agriculture was interrupted by wars, raids, and other disturbing forces, the water which was deposited every year ceased to fertilize, and began to choke vegetation with sand. In other words, water alone will not avail. The hard earth must be stirred and worked by manual labour in order that irrigation may have any good effect. If the Oxus not so very long ago discharged its waters into the Caspian, and not into Lake Aral, this theory might account for the condition of the country occupied by the Tekke Turcomans, where it used to flow, but it will not explain the existence of the desert of Kizzil Kum, where it has never flowed. Consequently, while giving the author all credit for the accuracy of his observations and the ingenuity of his reasoning, we hesitate to give entire adhesion to this theory. The observations now being made by Russian geographers may possibly throw light on the hypothesis, and advance it a step or two further to a conclusion which science and history can make their own.

The remarks on scenery, manners, customs, and mistakes of former travellers, are generally to the point, and they are very welcome after long and argumentative discussions about levels and outfalls. Cazalinsk, on the Syr, not far from the north-eastern shore of Lake Aral, is not very much of a place. It may contain one thousand five hundred souls. The buildings are rough or primitive. Wood and iron are brought there from Orenburg at a cost of 15*l.* a ton for carriage. Fort Perofsky, of which we have heard a good deal in Russian expeditions, is small and neatly kept. The Russian forces in Turkestan comprise 18,000 infantry, 4,000 of which are armed with breechloaders; 2,000 artillery, with two mitrailleuses, forty field-pieces, and forty heavier guns in position; and some twenty-four squadrons of Cossack cavalry. The horsemen are mounted on stout, serviceable animals, and are armed with cut-and-thrust swords and long rifles and bayonets. Besides these forces there is the Aral flotilla, manned by 550 sailors. Coal-mines are not worked, and wood is getting scarce. A mistake made by M. Vambéry is pointed out on this head. He had described the slopes of certain ranges, which are on the right bank of the Oxus and about two thousand feet in height, as covered with forests. Major Wood's field-glass enabled him to make out that what to the learned Orientalist seemed clumps of massive timber were dark spurs intermingled with ridges of chalk and coloured clay. Like other travellers, the author notices the devotion evinced by Russian troops towards the Czar; and dwells on their endurance and hardihood, their coarse food, and the dress, varying from the light cotton blouse of summer to the grey winter overcoat with hood and high boots, which enables them successfully to defy the extremes of heat and cold. The terms on which the Russian conquerors and the nomad tribes of Turkestan meet and have intercourse are not paralleled by Indian experience. The Cossack and the Kirghiz seem to be on an equal footing. But how long this equality may endure is open, we should say, to considerable doubt. Raids and forays attended with bloodshed and slavery have ceased, and for this benefit Russia is entitled to praise without stint or grudging. A story of a leprous Karakalpak woman, expelled by her community on the Lower Amu, and left to die of hunger, by slow degrees, in the jungle, is painful reading; and we are glad to pass from it to the account of a certain Kirghiz priest, whom Major Wood compares, aptly enough, to Friar Tuck, or, we might say, to the "barefooted friar" about whom that worthy sang a ballad for the entertainment of the Black Knight. This jovial priest farmed land, owned a fishery, knew the best melon-grounds and orchards, was welcome at every *kibitka*, said his prayers five times a day, and sat round a roaring fire at night, drinking *koumiss*, or mare's milk fermented, and listening to songs sung by his servant, an accomplished musician. The comfort of one of these felt dwellings seems to surpass that of tents, when the "rain is on the roof," or when the desert is swept by bitter north winds, and we should be glad to think they could be utilized for Arctic discoveries. A single *kibitka*, weighing no more than 400 lbs., with its felt coverings, can accommodate fifteen men. And there is a smaller portable variety with a conical roof like an umbrella, which makes one package, while the walls form another. We wish we could feel certain that the Russian revenue acquired from Khiva in 1874 amounted to only 1,850*l.*, or one-eighth of the expenditure. The author does not say where he derived his information, and other travellers have warned us against accepting such conjectural estimates of income and outlay. The description of the climate does not sound attractive, though it may be very healthy for the Russian troops. The monotony of existence for the officers surpasses that of the dullest cantonment in India; and, though the author saw, or heard of, plenty of game in some localities, the

stillness and absence of animal life in others were inexpressibly solemn and dreary. In conclusion, we may state that those who will not admit that this work solves all Central Asian difficulties, allays suspicions, or renders a watchful diplomacy needless, must certainly allow that it adds to our geographical knowledge, and that it combines a good deal of book research with personal adventure and descriptive power.

MIVART'S CONTEMPORARY EVOLUTION.*

IN this life of contradictions paradoxes are plentiful enough, but ingenious and brilliant paradox must be confessed to be scarce; and, laying aside for the time those graver considerations which indeed we cannot very well meddle with in this place, we make no scruple to say that Mr. Mivart's treatise is so perfect an example in this kind as to deserve the special thanks of the learned world for procuring them an uncommon enjoyment. If any man will take counsel and learn how that the doctrine of evolution is a most orthodox opinion, and has been opportunely raised up in these latter days as a singular confirmation of Papal infallibility, and for a witness to the never-failing discretion of the Church in dealing with matters of profane science; that the thing itself tends altogether to the advantage of the Church aforesaid, inasmuch that in some moderate space of time all heresies and oppositions will, by mere force of natural selection, be clean exterminated, and the civilized world happily restored to the obedience of the See of Rome and the peripatetic philosophy; finally, that "the culmination of the process" of evolution "has been the great Vatican decree, the keystone of the great arch of civil and religious liberty"—all these things and more he shall find abundantly and magisterially demonstrated by Mr. Mivart in the compass of some two hundred and fifty pages, and a chapter on ecclesiastical architecture into the bargain.

The general movement of the Renaissance, it seems, whereof the Reformation, so far as it had any real force or meaning at all, was but a subordinate part, was nothing else than a revival of Aryan paganism; "the old pagan sentiment reappearing like some classical poem on the surface of a palimpsest from which the later mediæval superscriptions are being removed." We take Mr. Mivart's own comparison in his own words; it is a strange one to choose, unless he is prepared to go, with some of his masters, the whole length of holding that classical poems are at best but dangerous vanities. It seems also curious policy for an apologist—for such is really Mr. Mivart's position—to start his argument in a manner apt to give occasion for a gratuitous quarrel of race. For in these days of comparative philology and imaginative sympathies there may perhaps be found those who will feel constrained to be classical and Aryan before all things, and take the chance of being called pagans for it by Mr. Mivart if he is so minded. Thus, however, is the matter brought before us. We are assured that the stream of pagan tendencies, hardly interrupted by the "mere backwater" of the dogmatic and moral current of Protestantism, is fast gathering its full strength; that Mr. Herbert Spencer's philosophy is in a fair way to lead to its logically proper consequence of sun-worship; and that by this and other tokens the final crisis of the struggle between Christianity and Paganism appears to be imminent. It must be carefully noted that in Mr. Mivart's usage Christianity is a theological term of art, and denotes the whole body of orthodox Roman doctrine; so that he speaks, for instance, of protection having been "extended to Christianity against the revolt of Luther and Calvin" by the rulers of France. Anglican—we had nearly said English—readers should bear this in mind, as without it the language of this book would in many places be unintelligible, or might even mislead the unwary, though we may not suppose that such a result was contemplated, to go along with Mr. Mivart a good deal further than would be wholly prudent. "The Church," it is almost needless to add, invariably means the Church of Rome. We are led, then, to forecast the probable fortunes of the Church in a review of the present course of affairs in politics, science, and philosophy. The political considerations are of no very great interest, except the suggestion, which however is thrown out only as a remote possibility, that Russia may perhaps be destined (*absit omen!*) to play Macedon to the distracted States of Western Europe, and that Russian arms, reconciled by political ambition to the Holy See, may replace on their temporal throne a line of pontiffs who in their turn shall crown a new Slavonic dynasty of Holy Roman Emperors. Mr. Mivart's more serious opinion seems to be that at a pinch the Church can thrive and maintain her internal polity well enough without any State support or temporalities whatever, which is a familiar thought, and in the main probably true. More remarkable is his prediction of the working of natural selection on a free and disestablished Church. He speaks among other things of freedom of marriage (meaning apparently something different from such freedom of marriage as now exists, but we cannot guess what) tending "to produce strong hereditary predispositions both for and in opposition to Christianity." Now Mr. Mivart, though an evolutionist, does not accept Mr. Darwin's account of evolution; but in this instance he out-Darwins Mr. Darwin utterly. When one remembers the very cautious and hypothetical manner in which Mr. Darwin speaks of the transmission by direct inheritance of even the simplest moral tendencies, one is certainly surprised at

* *Contemporary Evolution: an Essay on some Recent Social Changes.* By St. George Mivart. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876.

the boldness of scientific imagination involved in Mr. Mivart's prophecy.

Under the head of "Scientific Evolution" Mr. Mivart expounds his opinion that physical science is not and cannot be in direct conflict with the doctrines of the Church. This involves the historical postulate that the infallible authority has never, as a matter of fact, condemned any doctrine of science which has since been universally received, such as the Copernican astronomy. But this point is very lightly touched upon, and for the satisfaction of our natural questionings we are put off with a discreet citation of a passage written by Dr. Newman before the days of the Vatican decree. The question is now, not only what has the Church condemned, but what has the Pontiff condemned? It was shown in this journal some months past that, if the condemnation of Galileo's astronomical opinions was not a decision *ex cathedra*, it is extremely difficult for unilluminated persons ever to know what is. Apart from difficulties of this kind, Mr. Mivart's proposition is literally true. Molecular physics will certainly never disprove Papal infallibility or the Immaculate Conception. It is nevertheless found by experience that the study of evidence and scientific method is apt to have a certain marked effect—with exceptions in individual cases, no doubt—upon the learner's attitude of mind towards claimants of infallible authority; nor is that effect lessened when such claimants exercise their infallibility by demanding assent to propositions which in their very nature are out of the reach of proof and disproof alike. Here lies the real issue between the ways of the Vatican and the ways of free men; not in discussions, however acutely conducted, on the possibility of interpreting the doctors of the Church in a sense not inconsistent with a derivative origin of species. Let it by all means be taken on Mr. Mivart's authority that there is nothing against evolution in the principles of the schoolmen, and that Suarez's particular opinion to the contrary binds nobody, and is, in fact, not generally received; we say on Mr. Mivart's authority, for we shall not venture to follow Professor Huxley in trying to understand his quotations. We are sufficiently warned by the hints given in various places that we should only fall into ludicrous errors for want of a proper training in Aristotelian philosophy, or rather the Church's tradition of it. The dialectics of Ultramontanism and of Positivism are in this respect singularly alike. As Positivists deny the competence of any critic who has not read the whole of Comte's works, so the Ultramontane champion looks down on our modern philosophers as a sort of untaught people of whom nothing better can be expected till they go to a Jesuit seminary and learn the peripatetic doctrine. We can only lament that in this case our ignorance prevents us from seeing for what reason Mr. Mivart chose to call a hostile witness without explanation, and to produce his real evidence only in reply to the very natural expression of surprise which this mode of conducting his argument called forth from Professor Huxley.

It appears, however, that the result of proper instruction would be to show us that the philosophy is continuous and that all post-Cartesian speculation has been a mere partial retrogression. The true course of evolution lies in a reversion to the schoolmen, which will lead us back to the triumphant possession of a whole system of objective and absolutely known truth. Whence, by a series of considerations on continuity, final causality, and the unfolding of latent potentialities—interrupted, we are bound in common gratitude to mention, by the citation of a passage of splendid rhetoric from Dr. Newman—we are brought to the practical conclusion that, whether or not he believes the teaching of the Church, "the rational and consistent evolutionist should go to mass." This conclusion was of course to be reached anyhow; but is Mr. Mivart altogether wise in thus pinning his faith—which he would fain have us take for the faith—on the peripatetic philosophy? Is he so very sure that he is not all this time, like Suarez before him, exposing the Church to misunderstanding by committing her, in profane eyes, to a particular decision in matters of human knowledge which she has really never decided? Let us imagine ourselves—as for the sake of illustration we may, be the thing ever so unlikely—carried on to a future day when philosophy shall stand on as settled a footing as natural history now does, and when the first principles of the schoolmen, to which Mr. Mivart still clings, shall have gone the way of their details, which he abandons. Either the right hand of the Church will then have lost its cunning, or there will be found at need some subtle and orthodox philosopher like unto Mr. Mivart who shall show by convincing proofs that the author of *Contemporary Evolution* was merely dogmatizing, in an unauthorized fashion and after the secular lights of his time, upon perfectly open questions. For the rest, it seems to our dull apprehension that these same absolute and objective truths which have been preserved by the Aristotelian tradition are marvellously like various propositions already familiar to us under the names of axioms, necessary truth, and what not, in divers heretical and post-Cartesian systems; and yet it is plain that in such keeping they somehow lack the true peripatetic virtue, since we may readily call to mind ingenious persons, as, for instance, Dr. Martineau or the late Master of Trinity, who have strangely failed to see that, in holding certain truths to be independent of experience, they were already gone a good way on the straight road to Rome.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Mivart should have now and then allowed himself to use rash and violent language in a way quite unworthy of his abilities. To speak of "a hatred of marriage and the family" as a sentiment "common to those political enthusiasts who claim for themselves; *par excellence*, the title of 'advanced,'"

is in effect, if not in terms, an absurd calumny. There may be persons answering this description and entertaining such sentiments; the natural import of the words, however, is that the sentiments in question are common among the politicians usually called "advanced Liberals." Such would certainly be the impression on the mind of any reader who did not already know better; it is needless to add that it would be a wholly wrong one. Again, the names of Spencer, Darwin, Büchner, and others are all thrown together in *invidium*, and we are told that in their philosophy "virtue is absolutely identified with the most brutal selfishness"; those who deny free will are "one and all opponents of religion, natural as well as revealed"; and "to deny free will is to deny even the existence of virtue." In his sweeping statement about the deniers of free will Mr. Mivart has anticipated the beneficent operation of natural selection in the extinction of Calvinism among other heresies; so long as a Calvinist survives, he might be a little surprised at finding himself set down with the "opponents of religion." And this game of alarming consequences is one that two or more can play at. It may be, and has been, asserted with no less vigour and confidence than Mr. Mivart's, that not the denial, but the affirmation, of free will is immoral, and that the lawlessness of volition would make no less shipwreck of man's nature than would the lawlessness of motion in the world of matter. This sort of recrimination is fit only to frighten waverers or impose on proselytes; it is to be put aside by sober and earnest men who have set themselves to the pursuit of truth. But the fault is ours, for lapsing into a moment of seriousness; we should have remembered that Mr. Mivart may claim the license of comedy. His book is, after all, a perfect jewel of paradox; and we wonder how long it will be before it is in the *Index*.

YACHTING THROUGH FRANCE AND BELGIUM.*

MR. MOENS made himself known to the public some years ago by telling the story of his falling among Italian thieves, to be liberated on payment of an enormous ransom. We fancy that he found his latest trip more agreeable on the whole than that former one, although it had fewer sensational elements in it. There could scarcely be a greater contrast than that between the dramatic surprise on the road from Pastum, followed by the game of hide and seek in the mountains when the Bersaglieri were hunting the cut-throats who had him in charge, and this quiet steam trip through the placid inland waters of France and Belgium. Not that the yacht voyage was by any means absolutely uneventful. There were shallows and sand-banks to be carefully shunned; there was the danger of being jostled into ignominious shipwreck in locks crowded with heavily-laden barges; and the chance of coming to grief on the rugged sides of the long dark tunnels through which the canals are frequently carried. However, these various perils were safely surmounted, and the log of the *Ytene* contains nothing to discourage navigators who may be tempted by the attractions of the life it describes to follow in the wake of the steam yacht. Whether many people are likely to be tempted depends greatly on individual temperament, as there is something to be said on both sides. On the one hand, Mr. Moens and his wife were spared the inconvenience of having to travel at fixed hours by public conveyances, and they carried about with them a snug little floating hotel which enabled them to dispense with accommodation on shore, which in many places must have been worse than indifferent. But, *per contra*, there seems to us to have been somewhat too much of the sluggish old *treyskacht* existence to suit the restless dispositions that find their best recreation in fresh forms of activity. It is true that the *Ytene* was swift, but then her movements were frequently hampered, especially by those long trains of barges that go lumbering along behind powerful little steam tugs; while it was almost invariably a labour of tact and time to work one's way through the endless series of locks. And although the landscapes that lie along the banks of the Lower Seine are often exceedingly picturesque, yet the predominating characteristics of scenery cut up by canals must be flatness and dulness, while the lines of poplars and pollard willows that shut out all view of objects behind them are apt to become a weariness to the flesh and the spirit. On a balance of considerations the chief recommendation of such a trip seems to be that it enables you to pay flying visits to out-of-the-way towns and castles, taking leave of them the moment you have had enough of their more or less meagre objects of interest.

The *Ytene* was a tiny vessel of forty-two tons, seventy-two and a half feet in length by eleven feet three inches beam, drawing only four feet eight inches of water, and with engines of twenty-horse power nominal. She could stow away three tons of coal, although the numerous coal depôts along the canals gave her every facility for replenishing her bunkers. Of course her masts could be sent down and her funnel lowered, so that there should be no difficulty, if the streams happened to be high, in shooting the low-browed arches of the bridges. In point of fact, as the *Ytene* started on her cruise in the autumn, her embarrassments came more often from a scarcity than a superfluity of water. The crew consisted of three men and a boy, all told. There was Mr. Moens in command and superintending the engines; an engineer and stoker; a mate, steward, and man of all work; and a lad who acted as cook, and who likewise made

* *Through France and Belgium by River and Canal in the Steam Yacht "Ytene."* By W. J. C. Moens, R.Y.Y.C., Author of "English Travellers and Italian Brigands." London: Hurst & Blackett. 1876.

himself generally useful. By an ingenious and useful arrangement, the steam and starting gear were connected with the helm by handles, so that Mr. Moens could promptly control the engines while steering the ship, and had it in his power to avert a collision by a single turn of the wrist. Pilots were generally indispensable on the rivers, and they had to be changed frequently, as each man was only acquainted with the special stretch of water on which he plied. Most of the men employed by Mr. Moens seem to have been intelligent specimens of their calling; and, as a rule, he met with extreme civility from all the officials he came in contact with in France. Even the manners of the bargemen had a French polish which must have been equally unexpected and agreeable after experiences of their brethren in England; and although the Flemings were somewhat less courteous, yet he had no great cause to complain of them, considering that the strangers and the natives could seldom communicate except by signs.

The voyage up the Seine to Paris was lively enough; although happily the party had no such misadventure as on a former occasion, when Mr. Moens ran his yacht upon a pointed rock in the river-bed, and had a narrow escape from a fatal shipwreck. They took things leisurely, stopping at Rouen, and passing a couple of days off Chateau Gaillard, which they spent in photographing the ruins, &c. Having made the approach ourselves from Boulogne by the *bateaux mouches*, we can quite agree with Mr. Moens that the best way of entering Paris is by water. But it must be a novel sensation on first arriving, instead of calling a *fiacre* and driving to an hotel, to take up your abode at moorings on the river, under the trees opposite to the Tuileries Gardens. With the exception of some cursory remarks on the traces left by the war of the Commune, Mr. Moens discreetly spares us any details as to the sights of the French capital. But he tells rather a good story as to one of his men who was missing one night, having gone off on leave in the morning, meaning "to have a look round him." It was the practice of Fisher, his stoker, to inspect foreign cities from the tops of the tramway cars, and to keep driving up and down on these in different directions so long as his time and his money held out. The notion seems to us by no means a bad one, and may be worthy of adoption by tourists who travel for the sake of the movement, and whose æsthetic tastes are as undecided as their knowledge of languages is superficial. But in this case poor Mr. Fisher was landed in a predicament which prudence could scarcely have foreseen. He had taken the last car of the evening to a remote district where he found himself stranded and benighted, without a notion of his bearings, and with only three-halfpence in his pocket. He could not speak a word of the language; and when he tried to make inquiries of a native, the man thought he meant to insult him, and became so outrageous that Fisher felt constrained to thrash him. Fortunately at the moment there were no police at hand; but as often as he tried to go to sleep on a bench, he was roused by one of the force and ordered to keep moving. More by luck than good management, he finally struck the river, when he followed its banks in the right direction, till he came within hail of the *Ytene*, and was restored to his anxious master.

From Paris the voyagers retraced their course to Conflans, whence they turned off by the Oise, and headed in the direction of Belgium. After a time they exchanged the canalized river for the artificial canals which carry the traffic of the numerous manufactories that have been established in the neighbourhood of the coal-fields in Belgium and on the French frontiers. Mr. Moens remarks that the French Government, in granting concessions, has always been careful to protect the interest of commerce against private corporations. The consequence is that competition has been kept up and charges kept down on a network of admirably constructed canals, which convey heavy goods at an exceedingly moderate figure. A single tug drags behind it by a submerged chain a long line of heavily-laden barges, whose dead weight is apparently out of all proportion to the engine-power of the tiny steamer. Steam vessels are entitled by the regulations of the canal administrations to take precedence of the barges; but it is not always easy to enforce the right, and sometimes it is physically impossible. There was always a block of barges at the entrance to any of the considerable towns; on one occasion the *Ytene* passed a mile and a half of them lying moored along the bank; and in some of the Belgian canals these unwieldy craft are constructed to a nicety so as to occupy the entire width of the locks. But the most formidable obstructions occur in the tunnels, and the passage of these is seldom safe, and always attended with disagreeable excitement. When they are short and straight, it is tolerably plain steering, and you can guide your course by the faint glimmer of light at the other end. But at the tunnel of Riqueval, which is nearly four miles long, the travellers had a warning of the dangers that might be awaiting them before they entered it. As a string of barges was coming through from the opposite direction, they had been compelled to lie to in the dusk of the evening. Suddenly there was a loud outcry, and men came rushing out of the tunnel mouth, shouting for portable pumps. A barge laden with 270 tons of coal had had her side stove in; had she sunk, as seemed more than probable, the navigation would have been effectually stopped for weeks. She was got out as it happened, though she had settled down to within three or four inches of the gunwale. But the circumstances that had caused the accident were far from reassuring, for it appeared that one side of the tunnel was rugged with projecting stones, the remains of a former towing-path. Next morning they saw the tug with its procession of attendant craft file slowly past them. The little vessel of only twenty horse-power was

dragging 7,830 tons of coal. When they entered the tunnel they found themselves in utter darkness, and as there was a slight bend in its course there was no light visible at the other end. The air, too, was extremely foul, being heavily loaded with the smoke of the barges, although it freshened after passing the first of the air shafts which are pierced through to the surface of the hill above; but it was with no small sense of relief that they emerged into the light without any disagreeable incident. This Riqueval tunnel marks the watershed between the streams of France and Belgium; the canal on the other side of it being fed from the infant Scheldt, which only becomes broad and deep enough for navigation when it meets the parallel canal at Cambrai.

So far as historical reminiscences are concerned, the country which the voyagers had come to now was more interesting than any they had previously traversed, almost every place of any importance having stood a siege in the frontier wars or given its name to a battle or a treaty. From the low level of the water they looked up at a succession of works designed and raised by Vauban and his contemporaries, which on the French side have for the most part been improved and developed by modern engineering. In industrial Belgium, on the other hand, the thriving citizens have preferred to confide in their neutrality and the protection of the guaranteeing Powers. Most of their fortifications have been razed or smoothed away, laid out into broad promenades, and covered with turf and blooming flower beds. Once fairly in Belgium, among such familiar old cities as Bruges and Ghent, there was little of novelty that was worth remarking. But we are somewhat surprised to hear that they came across more than one *treyschuyt*, smartly furnished and spacious, with a full load of passengers and piles of luggage on the top of the cabins. A generation ago the *treyschuyt* was the popular means of conveyance; but we had believed it to be as thoroughly out of date by this time as the English mail-coach on the great roads to the North. Thanks to his manner of travelling, there is much in Mr. Moens's book that is decidedly fresh and original, while the novel routes that he followed introduced him to many interesting places which are too much neglected by ordinary tourists.

RAWLINSON'S SEVENTH ORIENTAL MONARCHY.*

ALL things earthly come to an end; and the announcement that in this volume Mr. Rawlinson has reached his goal may to some at least of his readers bring a certain feeling of relief. His toil, he tells us, has been spread over eighteen years; but at the beginning of that time he seems scarcely to have determined the length of his journey. His earlier volumes were put forth as histories of the great empires of the ancient world; but the discovery that his plan left out of sight the empires of Macedonia and Rome (to say nothing of that empire of least extent both in space and time, yet for the political and mental growth of mankind the most important of all—the empire of Athens) led to a limitation of his title. We have now before us the records, such as they are, of a series of monarchies which make up the mysterious number of seven. But the process by which this result is attained is not altogether of the clearest; nor, but for this self-imposed limit, should we have supposed that Mr. Rawlinson had really ended his work. His Chaldean, Assyrian, Median, Babylonian, and Persian Empires were described in his title-pages as belonging not merely to the Eastern but to the ancient Eastern world; his accounts of the Parthian dominion and of the revived Persian empire appear simply as histories of the sixth and seventh "great Oriental" monarchies; and therefore it is only of his own free choice that Mr. Rawlinson here brings his task to an end. The empires of Genghiz and Timour were surely great Oriental monarchies, and the title may be claimed in a far higher sense for the empire of Baber and Akbar. It is well, therefore, that Mr. Rawlinson in his preface imposes on himself restrictions, the existence of which we could not necessarily infer from his title-page.

The present volume is offered to historical students as a sequel to the "Parthians,"† and, for those who would rather express agreement than dissent, the period embraced in it is for Mr. Rawlinson happier than any with which thus far he has had to deal. We can have here, fortunately, next to no ethnological or philological discussions, and, more particularly, no reconstruction of dynasties for which we have neither chronology nor history. The series begins with the Chaldeans, who belong to the mysterious Ethiopian cloud-land; it closes with the annals of the Sassanids, of whom Mr. Rawlinson has now told us quite as much perhaps as there is any need of knowing. We will not say that the story might have been told more briefly; and it would be invidious to say that, as a part of Aryan history and bearing on the political fortunes of the Western world, it has already been related with a vigour which never flags, and a richness of colouring which gives life to the dreariest landscape. It was not Gibbon's purpose to examine in detail the reigns of the Sassanids as sovereigns of Persia, or to describe the condition of that country under each of those monarchs. Mr. Rawlinson has undertaken this work; and he has done it with conscientious care. His style may lack animation, and the reader may here and there find it difficult to shake

* *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy; or, the Geography, History, and Antiquities of the Sassanian or New Persian Empire.* Collected and Illustrated from Ancient and Modern Sources, by George Rawlinson, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, Canon of Canterbury. London: Longmans & Co. 1876.

† See *Saturday Review*, June 21, 1873.

off a sense of weariness; but Mr. Rawlinson may be supposed to have accustomed himself to the stately pace of Eastern caravans, and experience has taught us that we are not to expect from him either more rapid or more lively movement. Still there is nothing to regret in the appearance of this volume. It is distinctly an addition to the sum of our historical knowledge, which historical students will find it worth their while to read; it contains nothing, perhaps, which they would have to unlearn, and certainly none of those visionary hypotheses which bring with them as little nourishment as the east wind. The banquet here provided is not indeed plenteous, but we do find some solid food. We learn something of the motives and policy of some of these Sassanid chiefs, and the knowledge thus gained seems to throw light on certain dark passages in Western writers, to fill up some gaps in their narratives, and to correct some of their statements. But perhaps the chief lesson to be learnt from the whole is how scanty a harvest we can, after all, glean from the most laborious examination of what is called Oriental history. Researches into the annals of despotism may present in a new aspect the character of some individual king, may show that his acts were prompted by different motives from those which had been ascribed to him, may even bring before us changes in the religious thought of the age, and exhibit the growth or decay of certain forms of art. But otherwise we move in the old circle of Eastern routine. If Tibni dies, Omri reigns; if a religion falls or rises, it is by the will of the monarch, and the whole history becomes virtually a record of his opinions, his projects, and his campaigns. The revival of the Persian empire under the Sassanid Ardeshir, or Artashatr, as Mr. Rawlinson gives his name, brought with it an inheritance of almost incessant war. The struggle with Parthia was followed by a longer and more terrible struggle with the power of Rome, to be succeeded immediately by the fatal encounter with the followers of the Prophet of Islam. In Gibbon's pages these changes are sketched with the rapid touches of a great master; in Mr. Rawlinson's volume the details are filled in with the plodding accuracy of a Flemish painter. The result is not enlivening, but at the least we learn that Gibbon has sometimes erred, and that too in matters in which it is well that he should be set right.

It would probably be true to say that the chief interest of the Sassanid annals lies not so much in the uprising of Artaxerxes against the Parthian Artabanus, or in the catastrophe of Nehavend which left his last representative a miserable wanderer, as in the long reign of the prince who was solemnly crowned before he was born, and who spent the threescore and ten years of his life as a Persian despot. Almost crushed in his earlier years by the legions of Galerius, the second Sapor lived to avenge his defeat on Julian, and to win back from Julian's successor all that had been wrested from the first Sapor, or Shah-pur, his grandfather. The history of this struggle is perhaps the most instructive part of Mr. Rawlinson's volume; but if he sets Gibbon right in some not unimportant points, his criticisms sometimes leave his own armour open. With the character of Julian he is not immediately concerned; and it is to his credit that what he has said of him involves no injustice to that extraordinary man. The siege of Maogamalcha seems to have been as dramatic as that of Veii. Mr. Rawlinson is content to tell us that,

While a general attack upon the defences occupied the attention of the besieged, three corps introduced through the mine suddenly showed themselves in the town itself and rendered further resistance hopeless. Maogamalcha, which a little before had boasted of being impregnable and had laughed to scorn the vain efforts of the Emperor, suddenly found itself taken by assault and undergoing the extremities of sack and pillage.

We may lack here the colouring of the picture which Gibbon gives of the Maogamalchans as assuring the Emperor "that he might ascend the stately mansion of Ormuzd before he could hope to take the impregnable city," at the very moment when the place was already taken; but, terrible though the fact may be, it is quite possible that Julian may have made no efforts to prevent a general massacre. Mr. Rawlinson is, however, scarcely justified in saying that the commander Nabdates was sentenced to die by fire on a merely frivolous charge. His reference is to Ammianus; but Ammianus asserts that Julian had forgiven Nabdates for fighting on to the last after pledging himself to surrender the city, and that he incurred his doom for language of unbounded opprobrium against the Persian refugee, Hormisdas, the son of the second monarch of that name, who on his father's death had been thrown into a prison by the nobles, but who lived to escape from durance, to become a commander of Roman legions, and to bear from Julian the summons for surrender to the men of Perisabor. It is at the least intelligible that Julian should resent the abuse of a prince whose story must have appeared to him one of frightful wrong, and whose case may, even to us, seem hard. Mr. Rawlinson has, however, hit a real mistake of Gibbon by pointing out that the orders issued by Julian immediately after his vain effort to form the siege of Ctesiphon commanded a movement of retreat, and that the narrative, here inserted by Gibbon with some others, of a march into the interior of Persia for the purpose of provoking Sapor to a battle, has probably no foundation in fact. Julian was, indeed, in a position of great danger; and the story that at such a time the Persian King, whose army was still untouched, should have sent to the Roman Emperor a message asking for peace, in terms of abject submission, is in the highest degree unlikely.

Julian's successor, Jovian, found himself in circumstances as critical as those of the Ten Thousand after the battle of Kunaxa; but he lacked the genius of Xenophon for extricating

himself from them, and possibly here even Xenophon's genius might have failed. Whether Gibbon really meant that, bad as things were, Jovian might during the truce for negotiations with Sapor have made them better, it is impossible to determine. Undoubtedly, he says, that,

had Jovian been capable of executing a bold and prudent measure, he would have continued his march with unremitting diligence; the progress of the treaty would have suspended the attacks of the barbarians; and before the expiration of the fourth day, he might have safely reached the fruitful province of Corduene, at the distance only of one hundred miles.

Mr. Rawlinson is fully justified in his strictures on Gibbon for admitting into his text this absurdity of Ammianus, while in his note he can acknowledge the difficulty of understanding "how the mountains of Corduene could extend over the plains of Assyria as low as the conflux of the Tigris and the great Zab, or how an army of sixty thousand men could march one hundred miles in four days." It must fairly be admitted that Mr. Rawlinson has here hit a grave and inexcusable fault in the great historian. If Gibbon attached any weight to his difficulty, the matter of his note should have gone into his text, and the remarks of Ammianus, if noticed at all, should have been mentioned in the note. Unhappily, it is not in this instance only that Gibbon yielded to the temptation of tampering with fact for the sake of incisive criticism or picturesque effect. For him least of all writers can it be pleaded that he was relating simply the traditional account, and that it was for his readers to get as best they might at the facts as they really happened. But Mr. Rawlinson is in his turn led astray, when, speaking of the humiliating treaty which Jovian was compelled to sign, he accuses Gibbon of approving the ordinary Roman practice of repudiating inconvenient agreements, "and suggesting that Jovian ought to have redeemed his pusillanimous behaviour by a splendid act of patriotic perfidy." It might be "saddening to find a modern writer and an Englishman" thus upholding the duty as well as the profitability of falsehood; unluckily for the charge, all that Gibbon says is that "the deep and dangerous question how far the public faith should be observed, when it becomes incompatible with the public safety, was freely agitated in popular conversation, and some hopes were entertained that the Emperor would redeem his pusillanimous behaviour by a splendid act of patriotic perfidy."

Yet, in spite of all his wars and all his triumphs, of Sapor himself and of his people we know little indeed, possibly for the very simple reason that there is little to be known. Even when we turn to matters which elsewhere have stirred the human mind to its inmost depths, our knowledge is not much more profound. It is startling to find a Persian despot acknowledging himself convinced by the arguments of a philosopher who anticipated or went beyond the boldest assertions of the fanatics even of the first French Revolution. We should scarcely expect the King of Kings to make the declaration that all men are born equal, none possessing any natural right to property more than another, that property and marriage are human inventions contrary to the will of God, and that adultery, incest, and theft, far from being crimes, are merely necessary steps towards re-establishing the laws of nature in societies based upon these false foundations. Yet such were the admissions made by Kobad in favour of the system of the impostor Mazdak. Mr. Rawlinson rightly adds that under this august sanction the system led to "disorders which soon became intolerable." Kobad lost his crown and recovered it, and although, strangely enough, his personal opinions continued, as he said, unchanged, he had acquired enough wisdom to see the need of discountenancing the followers of the new prophet "in any extreme or violent measures." It is perhaps characteristic of the Persian people that opinions which had "ceased to command royal advocacy" had thereby "ceased to endanger the State"; but it is puzzling to be told that they became on this account "the harmless speculations of a certain number of enthusiasts who did not venture any more to carry their theories into practice." This is much the position of Mormons in this country, where nevertheless their views are not generally held to be utterly powerless for mischief. The truth is that the Persia of the Sassanids was much like what Persia had been under the successors of Cyrus; that under them art reflected little more than the magnificence of the King; that in matters of religion the people obediently followed his bidding; and that under both dynasties the general state of things was more creditable than that which has followed the triumph of the Crescent and the deadly despotism of the Koran. All this Mr. Rawlinson has carefully pointed out in his concluding chapter, in which he tells us that the highest classes were the most liable to injustice and oppression. This has been the mark of despotism in every form, whether the despot be Henry VIII. of England or the fraternity of Robespierre, Danton, and Marat; but unluckily the circumstances which in the West make the fall of the oppressor sooner or later certain in the East ensure at best nothing more than a change of one absolute master for another.

THE PIOUS WITCHES OF WITTELSHEIM.*

IT would appear from the unusual title of Father Franz's publishing house (Selbstverlag) that the Trappist Prior shares Mr. Ruskin's distrust of modern publishers. If we had not seen a notice in the *Deutscher Merkur* of his amazing *Something for the Unbelievers*, it would have remained as unknown to us as it will

* *Etwas für die Ungläubigen*. Erlebt und erzählt von Fr. Franz, Prior der Trappisten in Mariastern bei Banjaluka, Bosnien. Gratz: Im Selbstverlage. 1875.

remain to the majority of those for whose conversion it has been written. The German reviewer, however, does not seem to be aware how widely faith in the Seeresses of Wittelsheim has spread. We have heard of them in Switzerland. A disciple at Schüpfheim, in the Entlebuch, also a woman, had gathered about fifty disciples around her, who received with eager credulity, not only the original doctrine which she had learned during a pilgrimage to Wittelsheim, but also the extraordinary developments with which she had improved and extended it. It is said that the Swiss expositor has lately suddenly disappeared with the offerings she had collected from the believers; and the *Something*, which is being preached up as a miracle by the Trappists of Bosnia, and is expected by Prior Franz to do so much for the conversion of the Turks, is being at the same time preached down by the Capuchins of Switzerland as superstition and woman's prattle.

Prior Franz before his reception amongst the Trappists was known as Wendelin Pfanner, and was the diligent parish priest of Haselstanden, in Vorarlberg, and his pamphlet has been circulated with great effect in that district, and in the Tyrol and Styria. He says that he has not written it for the edification of pious persons, but to arouse the attention of Freemasons, Liberals, and other unbelievers. During a journey towards France, he tells them, he heard much talk of two wonderful revelations; one was taking place at Krüth, in the Vogesen, the other at Wittelsheim, near Schlettstadt. It grieved the pious inquirer to find that both places, recently under the guardianship of religious France, were now under the surveillance of the Prussian police, and he saw in the Prussian helmet a symbol of that "might which now rules instead of right." Miracles seem to have a touch of illegality in Krüth. The parish priest told Prior Franz that he himself was much troubled by the police whenever he took the road to "the Mountain of the Appearances" (Berg der Erscheinungen). The Prior shows what deep possibilities of belief lie within his own soul by assuring his readers that a lady who came from Paris in order to make inquiry into the miraculous appearances was not only arrested by the savage Prussian officials, but even condemned to pay a fine of fifteen hundred francs. "When a man hears of a prodigy," he says, "it is stupid to stay away from it, and pour out *à priori* railing. The wise man will go and look at it. The man who seeks illumination and knowledge shows that he does not love darkness rather than light, while he who is too idle to think and inquire will remain in his darkness."

The Prior stayed at the Pfarrhaus of Krüth, enjoying the hospitality of the parish priest, with whom he seems to have enjoyed much anti-Prussian talk. On the morning after his arrival he said mass in the parish church. His account of the first interview between himself and the young seers of Krüth must be given in his own words:—

After mass the Herr Pfarrer caused two children to be called into the Pfarrhof, who daily have the happiness of seeing the Mother of God upon the mountain. The Pfarrer said to the younger, a little maiden of ten years of age, Where did you go yesterday? The child replied, "Up the mountain." *Parson.* What did you see there? *Child.* The Mother of God. *P.* What did she look like? *C.* A lady dressed in white, with a crown on her head, and an *Hyen* (Elsasser dialect for a lily) in her hand. *P.* What did the Mother of God do? *C.* She gave us a blessing with the monstrance. A girl of about twelve years, who always accompanied her, saw the same things, and gave the same answers. She told me that when they arrived at the place of the vision, they usually began to pray with the rosary, and then the Mother of God showed herself; but they had also seen other saints, and the Holy Father. The Pfarrer said that nothing could keep back these two children; as soon as school was over, they ran off to ascend the mountain.

Not only the Freemasons and Liberals of Styria and the Tyrol, but the majority of educated Christians, will probably think that the children's description of the Virgin as crowned and bearing a lily is a sufficient proof that they would never have seen her on the mountain had they not first seen her picture or statue in the church. The rustic who went to see George III. would not believe that he was the King of England, because he wore a hat instead of a crown. Their vision of the Pope upon the Vogesen is not an exceptional prodigy; he has also been seen at Wittelsheim. This power of Pius IX. to be present in two different places at the same instant—or at least to be present in Rome in the body and in Elsass in "the materialized spirit form"—may be expected to reintroduce the old Ubiquitarian controversy in a shape of which Luther and Brentius never dreamed. We suppose that the Trappist pilgrim took it to be a divine confirmation of his infallibility; but the Freemasons and Liberals will surely find it difficult to trace the relation of cause to effect.

By far the greater part of Prior Franz's strange apology for the faith is taken up with the description of his second pilgrimage. For many reasons it was more attractive. The seats of the two prodigies do not lie far apart; but the claims of the *Seherinnen* of Wittelsheim come home much more closely to the business and the bosoms of the pilgrims than the visions of the children do; they are much more novel and exciting; and they touch so nearly upon the positions of American Spiritualism that some of the Freemasons and Liberals who have begun to hold *séances* and play upon planchettes may possibly be arrested by them.

The Prior was accompanied on his visit to Wittelsheim by Brother Zacharias, a member of his order. The two gentlemen went first of all to the inn, and cross-examined the landlady about the miracle of the neighbourhood. She told them, to their astonishment, that there were no less than twenty seeresses or she-prophets in the district, three of whom were ladies of position, and one the wife of a rich manufacturer; a male seer had lately attained the power of beholding the invisible. The pilgrims were

eager to begin their proof, and asked the landlady how they could find their way to one of the illuminated. She told them to go to the parish church, and she would send her little girl to ask Frau Schott, the nearest seeress, to wait upon them:—

There I stayed for about an hour [says Prior Franz] full of eager expectation. At last she arrived, and knelt down at a bench in the lower part of the nave. After ten minutes spent in prayer she beckoned to me. I went, and I knelt beside her at the same bench, on her left hand. Thereupon she began, without break or hesitation, to pour forth with astonishing fluency, and with great clearness of expression and certainty of tone, the exact description of the wonderful sight she was beholding. Several pious persons came and knelt down behind us, but she only spoke loud enough for me alone to hear. The moment she opened her mouth and said "See, see, there is the Mother of God!" I confess a cold shudder passed over me, and I dared not trust myself to look up. "I see there," she went on, "just above the high altar, the Mother of God. Over yonder side-altar I see St. Joseph and the Holy Father, who looks as if he were much depressed. Over the other side-altar I see the Child Jesus. He is fast asleep." She described with precision the figure and clothing of each of these sacred persons. I was so overcome that I was not able to preserve the details in my memory.

So far the visions of the Elsass seeress merely ran parallel with the visions of the school children, and with earlier visions in Lourdes and elsewhere. The speciality of the Wittelsheim miracles lies in the pretence of the illuminated that they see other persons besides the Lord, the Saints, and the Pope. Indeed the seeress claims to be able to see whole crowds of departed persons, none of whom she has known in the flesh; and as she makes a word-picture of one and another particular person out of this crowd, a pious devotee kneeling at her side naturally cries out, "Ah, that is my mother!" "That must be my boy!" "You are describing my dear father to the very life!" The new miracles appeal to the same common passionate yearning in bereaved humanity upon which the Spiritualist photographers of the dead have traded. As it is certain that little German school children would never have seen the Blessed Virgin upon their mountain if they had not read or been taught that French children had seen her upon their mountain, so it seems to be as certain that "Spiritualist" literature in some shape or other must have found its way to the originator of the Elsass visions of the dead. Frau Schott appears to have understood that even a Trappist prior would be anxious to know something of his departed kindred. "There in the foreground," she whispered to him, "I behold a great multitude of the dead. In the front of them all stands an old man; he is somewhat smaller than you, or perhaps nearly the same size. His face is round, he has whiskers; it must surely be your father. This man is still rather 'blau,' he has yet much to suffer in purgatory." The news which the seeresses pretend to impart to anxious mourners about the present happiness or misery of their kindred in the unseen world is of course the main source of their attractiveness to all sorts and conditions of pilgrims. Frau Schott had a peculiar formula for representing the exact condition of the departed. She described those who were still in purgatory as "blue," those who had passed through it as "golden." After seeing Prior Franz's father, she very naturally caught sight of his mother. As women are always supposed by this class of religionists to be much holier than men, she told the Trappist the consolatory news that his mother was "ganz golden, sie hat nichts mehr zu leiden." Her description of his mother, he declares, was exact in all its details; he could not himself have drawn her likeness more accurately. She beheld in turn all the deceased members of the Pfarrer's family—two young unmarried sisters who were "golden," a married aunt who was "blau," and one shocking old lady whose spirit tried to keep in the background, but whom the seeress followed resolutely with her eyes, and discovered to be not merely "blau," but absolutely "dunkel." She must have been a Liberal or a Freemason. The seeress knew by merely looking at these persons whether they were married or single. Their calling when on earth was presumably indicated to her by their dress. "I see a priest," she said, "on your father's side of the family; he is much like your father." ("That is most true," says Franz, in a parenthesis; "he died last year.") "This priest," she continued, "is as yet rather blau." He was probably tinged with some Old Catholic prejudices.

When Prior Franz had exhausted the list of his kindred, he turned his anxious thoughts to his order. Perhaps, indeed, this change in the direction of his inquiries was suggested by Brother Zacharias, "who now came into the church, and knelt down beside me, and was a participator in the next vision." The Prior hopes that his cloister of Mariastern, planted in Bosnia, may play a great part in the expected conversion of the Turks. After a number of inquiries as to the blueness or goldenness of some deceased Trappists, he begged Frau Schott to look amongst the crowd of spirits for the mother of a certain Munich family from whom the cloister had received many generous gifts, and for whose soul the husband and father, a pious man, still living, causes many masses to be said, sending yearly many thousand gulden for that purpose. "She described this lady to me in a moment as golden and dazzlingly brilliant. All other members of this family, except one son, she perceived to be suffering and dark blue." These bad young Bavarians had probably plainly remonstrated with their father and mother for giving so much of the family wealth to the Austrian monks.

I now asked Frau Schott, "Do you see nothing in connexion with our monastery which we built a few years ago?" "I see the Mother of God," she replied, "turning herself towards us, and at this moment she is blessing you." "With what does she bless me?" "With a star; she stretches her open hand toward your reverence, and in her closed hand she holds a large star." The seeress did not know that Maria-Stern was the name of our house; she was astonished when I told her.

He next informed Frau Schott that they were contemplating the erection of a second monastery, if it pleased the Virgin, and that he was anxious for some revelation of her will. The seeress then said, "I will direct my intention to that end; perhaps I shall see something that will help you." After a few minutes of silence she whispered to the foe of unbelief, "Now I see St. Anna, with the child Mary in her arms, and she is blessing you with an anchor; surely that is a good sign." Frau Schott was astounded when the Prior told her that the name Maria-Annaberg had been chosen for the second monastery. "But," said he, "we cannot yet decide where to build it, whether to advance further into Turkey or to retreat into Croatia." The seeress replied that she could not help him, but that she could perceive in the air "a very strange man, dressed in garments such as she had never seen, with wide flapping trousers (*Pluderhosen*), and with a curious rolled bundle upon his head instead of a hat." The Prior saw in an instant that this was a Turk; and as Frau Schott further described the man as marching continually "landeinswärts," with a torch in his hand, he concluded that it was the will of the Virgin that the Trappists should carry the light of the Vatican Gospel into Turkey. After many more inquiries in connexion with the future plans of the Trappist community, the vision concluded. The woman was obliged to hurry home in order to release her meek husband and look after her children. "The husband used to work in a factory," says the Prior, "but he has a little property of his own; he can now seldom go to work, having to take care of the house and five children, because his wife is daily called off to the church by strangers who have come to make proof of her visions. I must not forget to say," he adds, "that she only indicates those persons who have still to suffer in purgatory when the parish priest has given his permission."

This was by no means the last vision communicated by Frau Schott to Prior Franz. She told him that she beheld his blue father and golden mother each time that he said mass. "At your last mass," she said, "I saw your father following you from the epistle-side to the gospel-side of the altar; he was much clearer, but he is not yet quite clear." The Prior confessed that he had said that mass for his father's soul. At his departure from this village of wonders he told Frau Schott that he was going to Rome, and promised to procure a special pontifical benediction for her, on the condition that she would not cease to pray for him. He turns triumphantly to the Freemasons and Liberals, and asks them if it is probable that "Beelzebub, the chief captain of the Freemasons," can be the author of these prodigies, as he is of table-turning (*Tischrücken*). He declares, with charming freshness, that he himself is a proof that they are from above; he has been a better man since he accepted these visions as facts, and it is not the Devil's interest to make men better. We wish we had space to give the naïve letter in which the simple Brother Zacharias relates the visions which he received through another seeress. She described, to his delight, a great new monastery surrounded by "böse Leute, welche Schatten auf den hl. Vater werfen, und ihm den Rücken kehren; es wären nur wenige Gute unter ihnen zerstreut, die mir dem hl. Vater in Rom gut sind." The pious brother told the medium that these wicked people were either Turks or schismatic Greeks, and the few good persons scattered amongst them were Roman Catholics, who are in a minority in the East.

MACLAGAN'S STONE CIRCLES OF SCOTLAND.*

THIS tall and handsome volume at once suggests the late Lord Dunraven's book on the early remains of Ireland. Both alike bear witness to the fascination which is found by many minds in groping among a class of objects in the study of which internal evidence and the comparison with others of the same kind must be the only guides—objects among which, in short, records are wholly wanting. And there is no doubt that the very absence of records does give a certain charm. Sir Francis Palgrave was certainly wrong when he spoke of the whole class of primæval antiquities as something about which nothing could ever be found out, and which people had better leave off troubling themselves about. All these inquiries have had a new life put into them since it has been shown how easily remains of this kind throw light on other branches of study, how they connect themselves with the researches of Mr. Dawkins at one end and of Mr. Tylor at another. Miss MacLagan is an earnest worker in the same general field as Lord Dunraven, and her book seems to be meant to stand in a certain relation to Mr. John Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. Mr. Stuart's book comes within recorded times, while Miss MacLagan goes back into the days before records; but she finds a good many opportunities of bringing her work into connexion with his. As far as work goes—good, zealous, out-of-door work—the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland may congratulate itself on its "Lady Associate." Miss MacLagan seems, no less than Lord Dunraven, to have been everywhere within the range of her own subject, and to have let nothing escape her personal examination. A crowd of primæval objects in all parts of Scotland are minutely described and elaborately drawn and measured. Miss MacLagan's illustrations certainly lack the life of Lord Dunraven's magnificent photographs; but that is involved in the very nature of the two modes

* *The Hill Forts, Stone Circles, and other Structural Remains of Ancient Scotland*. By Christian MacLagan, Lady Associate of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1875.

of illustration which they have severally followed. In any case, we have here a large collection of materials, the result of real personal labour, brought together in a systematic shape.

At the same time, some of Miss MacLagan's speculations are, to us at least, a little startling. When she wages war to the knife against mere Druidical talk, we of course heartily go with her. Perhaps the fact that she should think it needful to take so much pains to fight against it may show that the enemy is even now more vigorous than we had fancied. We know so little about Druids that it is not safe to attribute anything whatever to them. At all events, the cromlechs or dolmens, whichever we are to call them, have been safely rescued from their hands, and they had been, as we thought, for ever proved to be tombs. The standing stones, especially the stone circles, are more mysterious; but we had fancied that a good many at least were also sepulchral, that they surrounded the funeral mound or formed an avenue to it. But Miss MacLagan boldly challenges the stone circles as strictly architectural works. In her theory the great standing-stones were not meant to stand apart, with nothing between them. They were parts of a building; they were its framework, answering in some sort to the wooden framework in a half-timbered house. The spaces between the great stones were filled up with a dry wall, and the buildings thus formed were sometimes roofed either with stone or with wood. But one's breath is taken away when one is not only told all this, but is further told that many at least of the cromlechs were really entrances—doorways, if we choose to call them so—to the buildings thus formed. In this view, cairns, circles, cromlechs, and various other kinds of primæval remains are all brought into a closer connexion with one another than we had ever thought of before. Nor is this all. Miss MacLagan presses into her service all manner of primitive structures, especially those of a round form, all over the world. And so she makes her way to the Irish round towers, and to the two of the same type which are found in Scotland. The doorways formed of great stones for the jambs and lintels, in the round towers and in other early Irish buildings, come straight from the architecture, as, according to this view we must call it, of the stone circles.

All this is rather startling; but as the writer has clearly worked hard at the subject, and has taken special care to see things with her own eyes, we should not be inclined to pooh-pooh it without looking a little further into the matter. We might rather feel stirred up to go off and measure some Scottish stone circles for ourselves. And Miss MacLagan has two points which are very much in her favour. She most prudently declines all attempts to fix dates where no dates are to be had, and for the most part she carefully abstains from the wild ethnological speculations which one has got to look on as the necessary accompaniment of these inquiries in any Celtic part of the world. These are merits which will fairly outweigh a rather stilted style of writing, and some speculations about the early remains in Greece in which she has got a little out of her depth. But towards the end of the first and more general part, in the chapter headed "Final Development of the Circular Idea," we get more seriously staggered. Indeed we get a little staggered at the end of the chapter just before, when, after a discourse on the *Nurhags*, the round structures of Sardinia, we get all the wild guesses that ever were made all set in a row. But, after this, it is a comfort to read how "Captain Oliver thinks that the common-sense conclusion is, that they were granaries in time of peace and fortresses in time of war; in fact, defensible dépôts to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring huts could fly in case of sudden attack." Captain Oliver is already well known to us as a dealer in common sense, and his display of that rare article comes as a great relief at this particular moment, when we are hardly recovering from talk about Thespians and "Syrian Pelasgians." But then comes an unlucky reference to Dr. Petrie in one of his weaker moments. Our eye was caught by several references to "Mr. King," and we really thought for a moment that the person meant was the living topographer Mr. R. J. King. But no; it is the King of past times, the King of the Munimenta. At Brynlllys in Brecknockshire is that not very amazing object, a round tower, as there also are round towers at Coucy and at Pembroke. We do not know that the towers at Coucy and Pembroke have ever been the subject of any special nonsense; but that of Brynlllys has. It is plainly nothing but a military tower of the thirteenth century; but, for what reason no man can guess, King set it down as Phœnician, Median, Mingrelian, no one knows what, and there has been Phœnician talk about it ever since. As in countless other cases of narrow windows, whether with round or pointed heads, the heads are not constructive arches, but are made of stones inclined together in an arched form. This is seized on as a proof that the builders were simply in the seeking state with regard to the arch, as if Brynlllys were Tiryns or Tusculum. Now Dr. Petrie went so little out of Ireland that the wonderful thing is that he made so few mistakes as he did make. It was pardonable in him to get his notions of Brynlllys from King. But we are now a generation later. Brynlllys is not a Sardinian *nurhag*; Brecknockshire has its railways as well as other parts of the island; and, before railways had got there, Brynlllys had been seen and described by accurate observers. It is a thing that there is no kind of mystery about. Miss MacLagan says:—"Some attention ought to be turned to the wide-spread tradition that the whole class of towers is of Phœnician origin." Where is such a tradition to be found? It must be remembered that what is commonly called "local tradition" almost always turns out to spring from the guesses of anti-

quarries. At all events, there is no Phœnician tradition at Brynllys older than King's Phœnician guess. For King himself bears witness that he found no tradition at all about the builders of the tower. The thing is not worth arguing; to say that Brynllys tower was built by Phœnicians is as reasonable as to say that Salisbury Cathedral was built by Nebuchadnezzar. A glance at the map will show what a strange place Brynllys is to quarter Phœnicians in; and, if a theory is to be made to take in all round buildings everywhere, Ravenna, Pisa, and East-Anglia, Jerusalem, Brescia, and the Pantheon of Agrippa must be allowed a voice in the matter as well as Brynllys and the Scotch Duns.

The Brynllys digression then goes a good way to upset Miss MacLagan's argument; but, whatever we may think of her conclusions, she has got together a vast mass of facts, and has shown a most praiseworthy zeal in getting them together.

GABRIEL CONROY.*

THIS, the first romance of any length which its clever writer has given to the world, has much of his peculiar merits; but it has also more faults than one might have expected to find in it. In speaking on a former occasion of the longest works of fiction which Mr. Bret Harte had then produced, *Mrs. Skaggs's Husbands* and an *Episode of Fiddletown*, we mentioned the straggling and incoherent method of their construction. In a story which occupies but a few chapters one can well put up with an absence of careful working-out of plot for the sake of humour, of brilliant description, and wide perception of character concentrated into a small space. It was for these qualities, rather than for interest of narrative, that one looked in Mr. Bret Harte's short stories, just as one does in those of Musset or of Mérimée. These qualities are found in *Gabriel Conroy*, and with them alone it is very possible that the author might have constructed a book equal in length to his present one which should have been more satisfactory. But he has not been content to do that; he has attempted to weave them into an elaborate plot which no one, and perhaps he himself less than any one, could unravel into reasonable probability. Again, the reminiscences of Dickens which struck one in reading the succession of tales which followed *Poker Flat* were not unpleasantly marked; they were like the memories suggested by the passing scent of a flower, and avoided the disagreeable effect which the reproduction of a peculiar mannerism must always have. In *Gabriel Conroy*, however, the imitation is over and over again too marked to escape notice; indeed Gabriel Conroy himself is just such an exaggerated figure as Dickens was wont to draw in his later works—one of those provokingly good people who, with rusticity of manner and heaviness of understanding, have an almost supernatural power of self-sacrifice, and possess moreover a gigantic strength which, owing to their childlike gentleness, is rarely exercised, but, when it is, serves to stem an angry torrent or bring a vast image toppling down on a persecutor's head. The character of Gabriel, however, is at least consistent throughout the book, which is more than can be said for the personage upon whose doings the plot, such as it is, turns—Philip Ashley, whose real name is Arthur Poinsett. He appears at first to be a young man who, if somewhat self-conceited, is rather virtuous than otherwise. He then, with harlequin-like rapidity of transformation, becomes an astute and abandoned villain, and keeps up that character for the greater part of two volumes. At the end of the third volume it appears as if the author had felt some trouble in ending his story, and found that the easiest method was to rehabilitate Philip Ashley, and bestow on him the hand of a fairy princess; for Donna Dolores, otherwise Grace Conroy, is in some respects much more like one of Mme. D'Aulnoy's heroines than a human being. But she is another example of the inconsistency, which can only be due to carelessness, found in Philip Ashley. She is by turns gentle, confiding, revengeful, cunning, implacable, and again forgiving and lovable, and all this without any reason for being one thing more than another. She is a lay figure, who is made by the author to assume various positions at various times, according, not to his design, but to his caprice. She appears in the first part of the book as Grace Conroy, a poor girl travelling in an emigrant party in company with her brother and sister and Philip Ashley. Here we may pause to quote the opening paragraph of the novel as an instance of the author's obvious imitation of Dickens:—

Snow. Everywhere. As far as the eye could reach—fifty miles, looking southward from the highest white peak,—filling ravines and gulches, and dropping from the walls of cañons in white shroud-like drifts, fashioning the dividing ridge into the likeness of a monstrous grave, hiding the bases of giant pines, and completely covering young trees and larches, rimming with porcelain the bowl-like edges of still, cold lakes, and undulating in motionless white billows to the edge of the distant horizon. Snow lying everywhere over the California Sierras on the 15th day of March, 1848, and still falling.

The party are starving; Philip and she set out together to seek for relief, and by the accident of a kind of landslide—convulsions of nature are freely employed by the author throughout his book—they find their way to the open road. After this they embark upon a floating tree, and are carried down the river to the habitations of men. As they approach to a settlement, he speaks to her in a serious tone:—

"In a few hours we shall be no longer in the wilderness, but in the world

again—in a settlement, perhaps, among men and—perhaps women. Strangers certainly—not the relatives you have known, and who know you—not the people with whom we have been familiar for so many weeks and days—but people who know nothing of us, or our sufferings."

Grace looked at him, but did not speak.

"You understand, Grace, that, not knowing this, they might put their own construction upon our flight. To speak plainly, my child, you are a young woman, and I am a young man. Your beauty, dear Grace, offers an explanation of our companionship that the world will accept more readily than any other, and the truth to many would seem scarcely as natural. For this reason it must not be told. I will go back alone with relief, and leave you here in some safe hands until I return. But I leave you here not as Grace Conroy—you shall take my own name!"

A hot flush mounted to Grace's throat and cheek, and for an instant, with parted lips, she hung breathless upon his next word. He continued quietly:—

"You shall be my sister—Grace Ashley."

The blood fell from her cheek, her eyelids dropped, and she buried her face in her hands. Philip waited patiently for her reply. When she lifted her face again, it was quiet and calm—there was even a slight flush of proud colour in her cheek as she met his gaze, and with the faintest curl of her upper lip said:—

"You are right."

We have quoted this passage, not by reason of any merit which it may possess, but because, taken with what follows afterwards, it is a proof of the extreme carelessness of the author's work. After such a dialogue it is astounding to find that Grace had been, as from the course of after events she must have been, Philip's mistress some time before they started together away from the emigrant party.

Grace makes her way to the Presidio of San Ramon, where the Commander takes care of her as of a daughter, and then she vanishes for a long time from the story. Meanwhile a body which is taken to be hers has been found by the relief party which has started to track out the emigrants in consequence of a dream which one of them has had. As to this dream, Mr. Bret Harte gives a footnote which assures the reader that the relief of the "Donner Party" having been brought about in this strange fashion is matter of record. That an extraordinary circumstance did take place is, however, not sufficient reason for its reproduction by a novelist, whose function it should be to give an air of probability to his tale. And when he is reduced to saying in a footnote that "he fears he must task the incredulous reader's patience" by quoting chapter and verse for an improbable incident, one cannot but think his method excessively clumsy.

To return, however, to Grace Conroy. She reappears in the latter part of the book, having had her face stained brown with some indelible dye, as Donna Dolores, daughter of the late Commander of San Ramon, a young lady surpassingly beautiful and rich. Not the least absurd part of this incident is that, although Gabriel Conroy, when he sees a picture of Donna Dolores, instantly recognizes it as his sister's, yet Poinsett or Ashley, who has several interviews with Donna Dolores, never seems to have the least suspicion who she is. Donna Dolores, as daughter of the Commander, has in some way a claim to a rich mine which Gabriel has discovered; and so in some other way has she as Grace Conroy. As Grace Conroy is supposed to be dead, the knowledge of her claim leads to various complications of villainy on the part of a mysterious Mexican and his equally mysterious mistress, who subsequently marries Gabriel. What the meaning of these complications is, and how these claims exist, we have been unable to discover. The whole story of the mine and the people who covet its possession is a maze through which the reader wanders blindly, doubting whether there can be any possible way out of it. In point of construction *Gabriel Conroy* is indeed from beginning to end hopelessly and irredeemably bad. Incident after incident occurs which demands and never finds explanation. The characters, of whom, by the way, there are far too many, constantly get into apparently inextricable confusion. But an earthquake is always conveniently at hand to dispose of any difficulties of this kind.

The writing is, on the whole, far below the author's usual mark. There are indeed passages where his imagination and command of language assert themselves so as to compel the reader's admiration. But there are many more, resembling the passage that we have quoted from the beginning of the book, which are mere imitations of another man's style. As to those characters of whom we have not spoken, Olly, Gabriel's preternaturally wise little sister, is amusing, but not very lifelike, and she evidently owes her being to the same source whence Gabriel's comes. Our old friends Colonel Starbottle and Jack Hamlin, the gambler with a noble heart and a sweet tenor voice, reappear in the course of the story, and the scenes in which they are concerned are perhaps the liveliest in the book. But it is possible to have too much of a good thing, and Jack Hamlin, who was well enough in the short story "Brown of Calaveras," is less successful when he has to make a longer appearance in *Gabriel Conroy*. He is indeed little more than an elaboration of John Oakhurst, who appeared in Mr. Bret Harte's first story, *The Outcasts of Poker Flat*. When that was published in England there was something very attractive and quaint in the contrast which the author cleverly handled between the outer and the inner life of his characters. The particular type which he gave of a man half scoundrel, half hero, was new and striking; and, although the author's sentiment was deplorably false, and at times became maudlin, it was in the main touched so lightly and gracefully that one almost believed in it while one read. But, after reading several of Mr. Bret Harte's stories, one grows somewhat weary of the people who combine angelic dispositions with ruffianly lives; and, in spite of a certain attraction which there undoubtedly is in Jack Hamlin's character, we record

* *Gabriel Conroy*. A Novel. By Bret Harte. 3 vols. London: Warne & Co. 1876.

with some satisfaction the event of his death in the course of *Gabriel Conroy*. This death is the occasion for a piece of sentiment put into the mouth of a negro servant which is astonishingly worn out and clap-trap.

Any one who has skill in the art of skipping may find his account in reading this novel for the sake of the good pieces of description and dialogue to be found in it; but we, who have wandered through all its mazes, can only speak of it as a most disappointing book.

JEBB'S ATTIC ORATORS.*

(Second notice.)

BY far the most interesting figure in Mr. Jebb's second volume is the Nestor of Attic orators—if indeed he is not to be regarded rather as a publicist or pamphleteer—the silver-tongued Isocrates. After every deduction has been made for his self-conceit, his proiness, and the garrulity for which his wonderful style goes far to atone, we recognize in him the influence of that master and companion who, according to Plato in the *Phædrus*, predicted for him a pre-eminence in eloquence, even if he did not follow the diviner influence of an inborn philosophy; and we must acknowledge, as we survey his life and writings, an honourable consistency of purpose in bringing such philosophy as he had at command to bear on civic life, and making it subserve a liberal and enlarged patriotism. Possessed by a fixed idea that the differences of Hellas were to be healed, and its healthy and flourishing condition restored, only by a union of its various communities under the leadership of a chosen State, or, failing such, of a single ruler, he never loses sight of this in his political writings, but sets up the scheme of war with Asia as the point to be continually aimed at. Regarded in this light, with due appreciation of the influence of his political writings during a life approaching very close to centenarianism, Isocrates (to whom 260 pages are devoted by Mr. Jebb) is a character in marked contrast, as regards interest and distinctness, to the shadowy and wholly forensic Isæus, who occupies so much of the remainder of the second volume as is not taken up with a lively sketch of Hyperides and Lycurgus, and a still livelier and more exciting survey of the famous duel over "the Crown" between Æschines and Demosthenes. Whatever may be the view of the student of Greek history touching the value of Isocrates's panacea for the ills of Greece in banding Greek with Greek against the barbarian—whether or not it should have been a war not of aggression, but of defence, as Mr. Jebb suggests, though this was not a point on which Isocrates could have had his choice, and whether or not Isocrates is to be judged a dupe of Philip of Macedon—it is impossible to study his writings, or Mr. Jebb's copious specimens and analyses of them, without a conviction of his patriotism and loyalty to Greece and Athens, and of his steadfast energy in advancing the cause in which he believed. "Assuredly," says Mr. Jebb, "Greece and Athens had no more loyal citizen than Isocrates, no one prouder of their glories, no one to whom their welfare was dearer; and before he is judged, let it be remembered that his notion of the largest possible good for them differed only by lesser clearness from that of the greatest practical thinker (Aristotle) who then lived." His death of grief at the report of the overthrow of liberty at Chæroneia is pretty generally allowed to be a myth, and simply a case of "post hoc, non propter hoc." Mr. Jebb, however, suggests that, if the tradition be true, Isocrates killed himself because he saw Athens still resolved to resist, and because he dreaded the conflict, when Philip should be at the walls, between his duty to Athens and his duty to Greece. The precedent of Themistocles is of course almost too trite to be quoted in support of this view.

From the sketch of his life we find that Isocrates had early relations with the leading Sophists, and paid at least one visit to Gorgias before he became himself the founder of a new school. Want of nerve and voice, and a wholesome dread of proscription, risked by advocacy of Theramenes, deterred him from a public career; and, barring a tradition of a school of rhetoric kept during a year of voluntary exile at Chios, his first active work seems to have been professional speech-writing for the law courts. The disclaimer of this by his stepson Aphareus Mr. Jebb takes to mean, no more than that he did not regard it as his true work or career, which lay rather in the maintenance of a school near the Lyceum at Athens and the concurrent work of a publicist, and which spread over three periods, covering altogether fifty-four of the ninety-eight years of his life. The first period (B.C. 392-378) saw his school thronged mostly with Athenian pupils, his literary work being represented by the *Busiris* and *Panegyricus*, whilst his political standing was being established by association with Timotheus, the son of Conon, in organizing the new league in the Archipelago and Ionian Sea, and by relations with Evagoras, King of Salamis, in Cyprus. In the second period his pupils came from all parts of Greece, and to it (376-351 B.C.) are referable the Letters to Demonicus and Nikokles, the chief *Panegyrics*, and the speeches "on the Peace" and on the Antidosis. The third period (B.C. 351-338) finds his teaching secondary to his political pamphleteering, and includes his famous works the *Philippos* (B.C. 346) and the *Panathenaios* (B.C. 342). It also saw him realize the end for which he had striven, though he was perhaps happily withdrawn before he could have any knowledge of

the results. With regard to the speech on the Antidosis Mr. Jebb clears away the modern prejudice which has attached to Isocrates for his supposed assumption of a special "philosophy"; which in truth pretended to be no more than a theory of culture, consisting neither in disputation, nor speculative literary inquiry, nor yet mathematical science, but in the practical finish of a citizen's education in speaking and writing on political subjects as a preparation for statesmanship. One single feature—to say nothing of the thoroughly *bond fide* character of his method, which was singularly evinced in its results—might suffice to prove that this teacher had a tone and spirit elevated above the selfishness and cynicism of rivals hugging their several philosophies—namely, his habit of moderation, and his dislike of agitation and appeals to popular clamour. As Mr. Jebb puts it, Demosthenes might have envied

that serene eloquence, free from precipitation and rashness, which selects its thoughts as well as its words, which has never to lend itself to offensive sentiments, which never degrades itself or those who listen to it, which is nourished only on generous ideas, and which thus reflects the human spirit always on its nobler side.

The merit of the style of Isocrates is confessedly not free from alloy. His resort to special figures of language in sense, form, and sound, his scrupulous subservience to an ideal mechanical balance, his worship of symmetry, are apt to overweight his matter and to imperil its life and spirit. It is perhaps a true bill against him, moreover, that his facility of invention tends to exaggeration and excessive encomium. He is clever and happy in arrangement, and in variety and fineness of subdivision very superior to Lysias; whilst his luminous distinctness is such as to have won the praise of Hermogenes, and must be patent to any one who reads even the handy edition of the *Panegyricus* which we owe to Mr. Sandys. No matter how intricate the apparent complications of his thoughts, arguments, or narratives, this master of rhetoric and style has such an unflinching gift of perfect and clear arrangement that no obscurity arises, and herein it may be probably averred that Isocrates stands unequalled. It must be conceded, of course, that his was not practical oratory, and that, as Dionysius pronounced, the contrast of Isocrates "on the Peace" with the Third Olynthiac of Demosthenes is a contrast of "a display of graces" with "a stirring summons to action." But his influence upon modern eloquence is not insignificant. Our author quotes the remark of a French student of Isocrates, Cartelier, to the effect that "the grave oratory of the preacher alone preserves for the modern world an image of that in which Isocrates excelled." This writer further attributes to Isocrates a share with Demosthenes and Plato "in forming whatever owed its virtue to form in the eloquence of Bossuet."

A large part of the second volume of *Attic Orators* consists of a very copious *catalogue raisonné* of the works of Isocrates, which is more valuable as a handbook to the student who desires to acquaint himself with the best samples of a particular orator than attractive to the general reader. Necessarily perhaps, it is full of classifications and subdivisions, and lacks the attraction that would be possessed by a much more succinct account. These 180 pages, however, will be very useful to any one who may undertake such a task; and we are especially impressed with this when, amidst the miscellaneous writings of Lord Macaulay published in 1860, we glance at that writer's contribution to Knight's *Quarterly* "On the Attic Orators." Written when its author was a B.A. and at Cambridge, it is delightfully full of everything except the "Attic Orators," and literally postpones the barest mention of Lysias, Æschines, Demosthenes, and Isocrates to the last paragraph of the article. What a godsend to so fluent a writer would have been Mr. Jebb's patient and trustworthy analyses! These also furnish the ordinary reader with lights on criticism, on politics, and on contemporary history, which are full of interest. From them we glean the characters of Isocrates's proposed leaders of Hellas, one after another; we are made acquainted with his ideal from time to time of the best form of government, and with the distinction to be drawn between the opinion on this topic which he wrote to the order of Nikokles, B.C. 372, enforcing the duties of subjects and instilling precepts of monarchy, and that propounded in the *Areopagitikos* and *Panathenaios*, which advocates democracy tempered by a censorship. It is perhaps hardly fair to cite the last-named work, the fruit, as is almost admitted, of Isocrates's dotage. To correct the impression of its feebleness the reader should revert to the vigorous and brilliant masterpiece of his maturity, the *Panegyricus*; whilst, for an illustration of his literary and educational creed, as Mr. Jebb suggests, his speech "against the Sophists" should be read in connexion with that much later, "on the Antidosis," in the first of which he distinguishes himself from false brethren, whilst in the second he vindicates his profession from the criticism of laymen. Here and there in his few forensic speeches there breathes a spirit of manly resistance to the violent insolence of the rich and headstrong youth who have twice overthrown public freedom, and we find an expression of independence not seriously impaired by the writer's relations with tyrants, despots, and usurpers. Some of Isocrates's repartees crowded into half a page are not bad, as, for example, that to one who boasted of "having never given his son any companion but a slave," "Then," said Isocrates, "you will have two slaves."

Mr. Jebb's industry and research have not succeeded in giving much body and personality to the shadowy Isæus, an orator who, taking the opposite course to that of Isocrates, devoted

* *The Attic Orators, from Antiphon to Isæus*. By R. C. Jebb, M.A., Public Orator in the University of Cambridge, and Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

his professional skill to the law courts exclusively, and held quite aloof from politics and statesmanship. About sixteen years junior to Isocrates, it seems that the latter was his sole teacher, but that, owing to their connexion as pupil and teacher being *circa* B.C. 393-90, when the one was just beginning to teach, and the other to write forensic speeches, the Isocratic influence is faint in the works of Isæus, except in the handling of subject-matter. Of Lysias, as Dionysius accurately points out, he was the student, but not the pupil; and he differs from him as well as from Antiphon in confining himself, not merely to forensic speechmaking, which Isocrates held in contempt, but to the branch of it which concerned cases of money or property, which he despised still more. Mr. Jebb has examined the stories of Demosthenes's recourse to Isæus for help in his action against his guardians—help which has been variously estimated, from mere preliminary aid to a special and exclusive retainer as counsel, prompter, and close ally. It is conceivable that the future orator sought Isæus's aid in preference to that of Isocrates, on the score of his superior vigour and astuteness; but Mr. Jebb does him no more than justice in citing the speeches against Aphobus and Onetor as negating a very close or intimate debt of Demosthenes to Isæus, despite the taunt of the advocate on the guardians' side. In their careers some resemblances occur between Antiphon and Isæus, though the climax of the former was political and of the latter professional; but in style he cultivates Lysian simplicity, clearness, and vividness of diction, with a difference in the absence of formal antithesis, and an exercise of free movement distinguished by the stamp of art and trained skill. One cannot help being haunted by the Roman poet's expression, "Isæo torrentior," whilst reading his life and scanning his extant speeches and fragments; but, apart from the self-evident fact that this is not an apt description of the style and manner of the Attic Isæus, we know that it was to a contemporary rhetorician from Assyria that Juvenal referred. Isæus's distinctive features, over and above the traits borrowed from Lysias, are a more open and vigorous art engrafted on the Isæan plainness, and a more varied arrangement of subject-matter. He is a compromise between plainness (*ἀφέλεια*) and *δενότης*, the expert's art, and herein probably lies the secret of his sinister repute (under which Antiphon also laboured) for elaborating pleas for the worse part and outmanœuvring the jurymen. As is noted in p. 304, he also brought to a high point the quality of strenuous and fluent assault—which Demosthenes transferred from forensic to deliberative oratory—which is happily translated from the Greek *τὸ ἐναγώνιον* as "the art of grappling."

The chapters which treat of Lycurgus, Hyperides, Æschines, and Demosthenes, though necessarily sketchy, are also signally graphic. Any one who refers to the notices of these orators, certainly the less known of them, in the pages of Donaldson's continuation of Müller's *History of Greek Literature*, will appreciate the greater fulness, detail, and impression of portraiture in Mr. Jebb's history. We have Lycurgus engrafting the Antiphonic stateliness on the smooth luxuriance of Isocrates, and importing into his style and tone a sympathy with the great tragic poets; and Hyperides, more in fashion like Lysias, availing himself of current wit and allusion, in sympathy with his time and its current literature—Mr. Jebb likens him to the Sheridan of Athens. Then there is Æschines, standing to Demosthenes in the relation of Andocides to Antiphon; but a much greater orator than Andocides on the score of greater practice and more brilliant natural gifts, which enabled him to pit himself against his great rival as the man of spontaneous eloquence compared with the laborious rhetorician. He also affected the culture and *εὐκοσμία* of the actor in contradistinction to the vehement laboured oratory which in Demosthenes was said to smell of the lamp. But, great as these gifts were, they could not make up for the patent want of *ἦθος*, of earnest conviction and moral nobleness, which gives a hollowness to his greatest achievements, and contrasts with the grand and profound earnestness of Demosthenes. On the peroration of the *Oratio* on the Crown by the latter, Mr. Jebb has an eloquent passage with which we may conclude the survey of a remarkable book, and one that is likely, when it has had the advantage of revision here and there, perhaps of retrenchments to make room for one or two minor orators now ignored, and of a few additions and corrections as to its preliminary *Fasti* or annals, to become a standard work:—

Two thousand years [he writes] have challenged a tradition which lives and always will live wherever there is left a sense for the grandest music which an exquisite language could yield to a sublime enthusiasm—that when Demosthenes addressed those who had come from all parts of Greece to hear that day the epitaph of the freedom which they had lost, and a defence of the honour which they could still leave to their children; they had listened to the masterpiece of the old world's oratory, perhaps to the supreme achievement of human eloquence.—P. 416.

In the rest of this passage, and in others which might be culled from Mr. Jebb's two volumes, we discover at least one powerful argument for a thorough study of the grand Attic eloquence.

AMERICAN LITERATURE.

MR. YOUNG'S work on Labour in Europe and America* is a most remarkable and valuable treatise; not complete perhaps

—indeed such a work hardly could be complete—but very full, and containing an amount of information of a most useful character, and by no means easily accessible, such as is not to be found in any other work with which we are acquainted. In form it is, like many of the admirable books of this class which America has produced, simply a Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics; in fact and in substance it is an elaborate historical and practical account of the condition of labour and the position of labourers in the most civilized countries of the ancient and modern world. It may be divided into three parts—a history of labour in the principal countries of ancient times, in Egypt, Greece, and Rome, in feudal Europe and in England since the gradual decay of the feudal system emancipated the labourer from villenage; a careful comparison of the rate of wages, the cost of food, and the social position of artisans and agricultural workmen in the principal States of Europe and America at the present time; and a mass of statistical tables illustrating these latter points in detail. Mr. Young has theories of his own with regard to the origin of slavery in ancient times which may not appear altogether sound; for instance, he probably underestimates very much the effect of war and conquest both as the chief or sole origin of slavery, and as a principal source from which the supply of slaves was kept up. It is difficult to believe with him that the *patria potestas*, coupled with the polygamy of the East, degraded to the condition of slavery the children or brothers of the head of the family. The case of Joseph, which he cites, was a case of kidnapping, such as could only have arisen when slavery and the slave-trade were institutions in full and general operation. Again, though debt was no doubt the means of reducing many freemen to slavery in many communities, slavery must have existed as a recognized and established part of the social order long before such a penalty for insolvency was thought of. Indebtedness and insolvency, as legal facts affecting a man's political and civil status, can only have existed in highly organized societies; while slavery is one of the primitive institutions of mankind, almost as old as war, and probably quite as old as the conquest of one tribe or nation by another. It is by far the oldest form of service, indefinitely prior in time to service by contract and for hire; and existed in a condition so primitive as that of the nomad patriarchs whose single households appear to have constituted the only society with which they were connected, and in an age and country when larger communities and settled States must have been comparatively few, or these nomadic households could not have maintained their independence. What slavery was in ancient times in different conditions of society and under different masters—as, for instance, among the wandering shepherds of whom Abraham may be regarded as a type; under the warlike despotism of Assyria; under the more pacific, but probably more crushing, despotism of the Pharaohs; in a free community like Athens; in military States like Rome and Sparta, and under a theocracy like that of Judea—is a most interesting and curious inquiry, and one into which Mr. Young goes as deeply as the information still accessible will allow him. The general conclusion would seem to be—contrary to what might be at first supposed—that, on the whole, slavery was most tolerable in primitive times and societies, and became more cruel as the community to which the masters belonged became more civilized, more settled, and consequently more powerful. The patriarch whose whole following consisted of his relations and slaves could perhaps draw no very definite line of distinction between them, and certainly could no more systematically oppress the one than the other; while under a settled form of government, and especially under a strong imperial despotism, the masters were in little fear of the physical force of their slaves, and were restrained by no other considerations than such as interest or humanity might impose on the exercise of absolute power. The slave-trade weakened a master's interest in the well-being of his slaves; the pride of race prevented humanity from influencing very greatly the conduct of a member of a conquering people towards conquered "barbarians"; and slavery seems to have become most intolerable just at the time when Roman conquest had rendered it most universal, had supplanted a free peasantry by masses of slave labourers, and had made servile insurrections utterly hopeless. The condition of villeins under the feudal system was bad enough; but the fact that they were for the most part bound to the soil, and as its sole cultivators were perforce allowed a certain interest in it and a certain freedom of action, and the influence of the Church exercised in several directions, asserting the common Christianity of master and servant, encouraging emancipation, and offering to the discontented, aspiring, or fugitive bondsman an asylum in the convent and a refuge and career in the priesthood, rendered the serfage of the middle ages infinitely happier than the slavery of Imperial Rome or democratic Athens; and, finally, before the Reformation, had almost entirely abolished the status of slavery proper. Mr. Young carefully traces the process of amelioration and liberation; and he also shows the effect upon the English labourer, bond or free, of great national events, changes, or calamities, like the Black Death, which by the terrible reduction of population which it effected greatly raised the value of labour, the French wars of the Plantagenets, the wars of the Roses, and the social and agricultural revolution which took place under the Tudors, and which, coupled with the Reformation, necessitated and originated our Poor-law. He discusses the gradual growth and ultimate reform of that Poor-law, and the social changes which took place between the reign of Elizabeth and that of George III., and their effect upon the remuneration and position of the labourer, showing as far as possible how this

* *Labour in Europe and America: a Special Report on the Rates of Wages, the Cost of Subsistence, and the Condition of the Working Classes in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and other Countries of Europe, also in the United States and British America.* By Edward Young, Ph. D., Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics. Philadelphia: George & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1875.

affected his nominal and real remuneration—the rate of wages, the price of food, and the relation between the two. He has less to say respecting the historical condition of the labourer on the Continent of Europe, though even on this point his book is valuable and instructive. Finally, he discusses at the fullest length, with abundance of figures and carefully ascertained statistics, the recent and present condition of artisans, unskilled operatives, and agricultural labourers in the various countries of Europe and in the United States; and supports his views by elaborate tables, showing the wages paid in different employments, and the amount of various kinds of food which they will purchase. This work is one which should be in the hands of every writer on social and economical questions, and in the library of every Trade-Union; a careful study of its pages would do much to render the writings of the former more instructive, and the action of the latter more beneficial and less perverse.

Professor Sumner's *History of American Currency** is a dry and dreary, but very instructive, work. It discusses not merely the various experiments—most of them exceedingly ill-advised—on the monetary circulation of the different States which distinguish the early history of the Transatlantic Republic, but also the working of the banks under various systems of legislation, and under the influence of various theories diverging in every direction from truth and common sense. It likewise traces the course of financial legislation during the late war, with its subsequent effects—effects not yet exhausted—on the industrial and commercial situation of the country. The chapters on English and American currency are much less valuable, both because more is known of the subject here, and because the author is less familiar with it. But his account of the various systems of currency to which his own country has been subjected, and of the manner in which ignorant and reckless legislators have experimented, as in *corpore viti*, on a vital element in the social body and in the industrial life of their country is clear, generally sound, and eminently useful. Other commercial countries in past ages may have suffered from misrule as absurd and unreasonable; but mediæval society was less dependent upon commerce, and the commercial system, being less nicely adjusted, was less easily deranged. Even in recent times other countries have been flooded with inconvertible or irredeemable paper, with depreciated notes issued by the Government, or promises to pay issued by banks which took no pains to fulfil them; but such countries had not reached the high industrial and commercial development of the United States. Immediately after the achievement of their independence the Governments of several States did their best to continue, and even to aggravate, the evils of war by repudiating debts and playing tricks with the currency. The non-payment of the army, the inability of Congress to redeem its engagements and to pay the debt which it had incurred on the security of taxable resources which it had no power to tax, and the indifference of the States to the collective credit of the Confederation, with the utter and inevitable depreciation of the paper money issued during the struggle, necessarily inflicted the severest suffering upon particular classes and great injury upon the community at large. But for this the sufferers were in some measure prepared, and this they might have endured. What was utterly unendurable, and would have ruined any community but one in which so large a portion of the population consisted of individuals and families self-dependent in the most absolute sense of the word—able, that is, to feed and clothe themselves without buying or selling—was the reckless multiplication of paper money by several State Governments, whose members fancied that anything they chose to call a dollar immediately acquired the value of a hundred cents in silver; and the frantic attempts made by legislative coercion and popular violence to compel traders to accept at something like its nominal value a currency which had no fixed value whatever, and tended constantly towards utter worthlessness. The establishment of the Union put a stop to this evil for a time by a clause in the Constitution peremptorily forbidding the States to create any other than a metallic money; but mischiefs nearly as serious were entailed upon the country at large (and not, as before, upon individual States only) by a reckless system of banking and a far too lax law of insolvency, leading to an issue of paper which first drove out the metallic coinage, and then, by the "suspension" of the banks, left the country in possession of no other currency than a multitude of notes at various rates of depreciation. This folly has been more than once repeated; the last, and perhaps the worst, trouble of this kind having been caused by Mr. Chase's issue of greenbacks in direct defiance of the interpretation which up to 1860 had been universally put upon the Constitution. That issue was so excessive that the notes fell at one time to a value of forty cents per dollar. The revival of industry since the war has greatly reduced the depreciation, and the evil would have been cured altogether by a righteous decree of the Supreme Court, endorsed by Mr. Chase himself, declaring that Congress had no power to make greenbacks legal tender, but that President Grant and the Republican majority in Congress placed two new judges on the Bench for the express and avowed purpose of reversing this decision—perhaps the worst scandal in all the discreditable history of American tampering with the currency. On the other hand it should be remembered,

to the honour of the Americans, that several States refused to profit by the opportunity of paying their debts in a depreciated paper, and that the Union itself has faithfully observed its obligation to pay the interest on its debt in gold, and not to pay the principal in anything else. Any one who thinks it worth while to study the history of a long series of wild experiments on a national currency will find all that he requires in Professor Sumner's treatise.

The Life of Mr. James Grimes*, formerly Governor of and afterwards Senator from Iowa, is a political biography of no special value or interest. The man himself was an average American politician, of a time when politicians were not quite so utterly discredited as they now are. He seems to have been tolerably honest, and not more extreme and violent in his party views than it is necessary for a man to be who aspires to influence and office in the West. Like most Free Soilers and Republicans, he stated the case of his party against the South with exaggeration and with no originality, repeating the common-places of abolitionism and the trite denunciations of Southern ambition and injustice, but never noticing the arguments of his opponents or appearing to be aware that they had anything to say for themselves. It would be very interesting to read the memoirs of a Republican who, hating slavery as an Englishman hates it, and believing that the North was in the right upon the territorial and other issues, nevertheless recognized the facts of the case and the position of the South, bore in mind that the Southerners had in their midst four millions of negroes whom they must govern somehow, and whom West Indian experience led them to suppose they could govern only as slaves; that at any rate slavery was a matter within the competence of the States alone, in regard to which Federal interference was lawless usurpation; that the South was constantly threatened with such usurpation, and was justified in resisting it; and that she could resist it only in one of two ways—by secession or by maintaining her equality in the Senate; that she could maintain her equality in the Senate only by creating a new slave State for every new free State; that she could do this only by grasping at new territory, and that, therefore, in attempting to extend the area of slavery she was acting in pure self-defence. But we never heard or read of any such Republican; certainly Mr. Grimes was not such a man, and his memoir is a mere repetition of the Republican biographies of which we have ere now reviewed some dozen.

Mr. Bolles, in his *Conflict between Labour and Capital*†, treats with great moderation, and on the whole with great fairness, a subject on which few writers are impartial, and on which scarcely any partisan is moderate. His view of the dangers involved in the present state of the relations between employers and employed is on the whole clear and sensible; and he rightly insists that the interests of the two classes are inseparably united, and are substantially the same. He does not perhaps bring out so clearly as he might where it is that, though they are in the truest sense partners, their interests conflict as those of ordinary partners do not, and why they come into collision as no other partners do. The reason obviously is that while, like all partners, they have a common interest in obtaining the largest possible produce at the best possible price, and a separate interest in the distribution of the common produce, the terms of distribution are not arranged between them as between ordinary partners. First, their respective shares are not permanently fixed; secondly, the share of labour does not directly and necessarily vary with the profits; so that the workmen's interest in the common weal is not, like that of ordinary partners, obvious, immediate, and definite. Hence inefficient labour on the one hand, and constant disputes on the other. If Mr. Bolles had seen this, he could scarcely have failed to perceive that the chief and most applicable remedy is to make the earnings of the labourer, in part at least, dependent upon the rate of profit; and not, as he faucies, to assert the right of one partner to a "reasonable remuneration irrespective of the common success." Indeed he seems to be half aware that such "reasonable remuneration" requires a "reasonable price" for produce, a price independent of the state of the markets, a thing which is of course impossible. For the rest, his facts are very full and very interesting, though his inferences are often incorrect. His statements regarding the rate of wages, and their purchasing power in different countries and different trades, are very distinct, and apparently very careful; and the general result shows, what we have always believed, that the English operative and even the English peasant, if only they did not drink, are far better off than those of any other European country; and that in America, though both earn much higher wages, and are more luxuriously fed, the artisan in cities is not very much better off than in England; while the agricultural labourer gains in wages, in food, in opportunities of rising, and in general condition, only at the price of much harder work than can ever be obtained from him by English farmers. We should like to know how far the better food and harder work stand in the relation of cause and effect. A farm-labourer removed to railway employment cannot do a navvy's work till he has lived for some months as navvies live. What would be the result if an English farmer should undertake to feed his labourers, and feed them so well as to get out of them the utmost work which a man in the best health and con-

* *A History of American Currency; with Chapters on the English Bank Restriction and Austrian Paper Money.* By William G. Sumner, Professor of Political and Social Science in Yale College. To which is appended "The Bullion Report." New York: Holt & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

* *The Life of James W. Grimes, Governor of Iowa, 1854-1858; a Senator of the United States, 1859-1869.* By William Salter. New York: Appleton & Co. London: Sampson Low & Co.

† *The Conflict between Labour and Capital.* By Albert S. Bolles, Author of "Chapters in Political Economy," &c. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

dition can do in a given number of hours? In respect to the action of Trade-Unions, to their particular regulations, and especially to their tyrannical attempts to limit the number of apprentices—that is, to make a monopoly of each particular craft—Mr. Bolles's criticisms are just and sound; but, as he has embraced their fundamental error of a "reasonable remuneration," we fear that his book, if it should reach their hands, would do them more harm than good.

An *American in Iceland** gives a readable and not uninteresting account of a country which is perhaps the dreariest in the world to inhabit, and the most remarkable to visit. But, precisely on account of its attractions for the curious tourist, Iceland has been described so frequently and so thoroughly that no new traveller can find anything fresh to tell, and no new book on the subject has much chance of finding readers, at least in England.

The second volume of Dr. Thomas's *History of Printing in America*†, which forms the sixth volume of the *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, is devoted to the history of those newspapers and magazines in the number and circulation of which the United States surpass every other country in the world. The first weekly papers appear to have been established about the beginning of the eighteenth century—that is to say, within some ten years after they first became an institution in England. The earliest newspapers on this side of the Atlantic had been printed many years before; but, with the exception of the *Gazette*, had been stifled soon after their birth. The colonial newspapers appear to have met with few difficulties of the kind which were interposed by English law and the oppressive use of the prerogative in the way of their predecessors at home; but their growth was of course slower, and even now, though they may have equalled the circulation, they have never attained the character or the influence, of their European contemporaries. Dr. Thomas's account of their progress is confined principally to the last century, and is meagre and uninteresting; but the appendices here and there contain some curious documents and interesting information.

Mr. Austin's *History of Massachusetts*‡ is a full and well-written work, and of course by no means deficient in interest. It is disfigured, however, by an extravagant partisanship, which breaks out not unfrequently into mere frantic abuse, as when the epithet "infamous" is applied to Laud, and which leads the author to misrepresent, not so much particular facts, as the general tendency and character of the colonial and State Governments which are the objects of his admiration. In describing the original Puritan settlers as anxious to establish a new society on the basis of freedom of conscience, he falsifies not only American but even English history, and utterly misleads his imperfectly informed readers. The Puritans were at least as intolerant in principle and practice as Laud himself. Nor is the deceptive effect of the author's statement on this point, influencing as it does the entire tone of the narrative, sufficiently corrected by a substantially truthful admission of the facts which contradict it. The savage persecution of Episcopalians, of Quakers, and even of Puritans who ventured to dissent on any point from the dominant party in the colonial Church, and the horrible massacre of pretended witches which at last revolted the sane portion of the colonists themselves, are incorrectly described as departures from the principle and character of Puritanism, and exceptions to its tendency and practice; whereas they were in strict accordance with all, and are not exceptions to, but examples of, the regular course pursued by the Pilgrim Fathers and their immediate successors. It is also a little curious to compare the manner in which the colonial rebellion is eulogized with the denunciations bestowed on the much more justifiable and logical "Rebellion" of the South.

An account of Buddha and Buddhism§, by Mr. Charles Mills, though modestly entitled "a sketch," is as full and complete as most European readers can desire. It is rather traditional than either "historical" or "critical"; but what it concerns us to know concerning Buddha and his religion is not so much the actual truth, which is hardly attainable, as the current belief of millions respecting the founder of one of the strangest and most ascetic of popular creeds; his life and career as a religious teacher and reformer, the moral doctrines he taught, and the sanctions by which they are practically enforced on the minds of believers. On these points the information which Mr. Mills affords is as full and minute as any but specialists can require or have leisure to study.

* *An American in Iceland: an Account of its Scenery, People, and History.* With a Description of its Millennial Celebration in August 1874; with Notes on the Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe Islands, and the Great Eruption of 1875. By Samuel Kneeland, A.M., M.D. With Map and Nineteen Illustrations. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks, & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

† *The History of Printing in America: with a Biography of Printers, and an Account of Newspapers.* By Isaiah Thomas, L.L.D., Printer, late President of the American Antiquarian Society, &c. 2 vols. Second Edition, with the Author's Corrections and Additions, and a Catalogue of American Publications previous to the Revolution of 1776. Published under the Supervision of a Special Committee of the American Antiquarian Society. Vol. II. Albany, New York: Joel Munsell. London: Trübner & Co. 1874.

‡ *The History of Massachusetts, from the Landing of the Pilgrims to the Present Time.* Including a Narrative of the Persecutions by State and Church in England; the Early Voyages to North America; the Explorations of the Early Settlers, &c. By George Lowell Austin. Boston: B. B. Russell and Estes & Lauriat. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

§ *The Indian Saint; or, Buddha and Buddhism: a Sketch, Historical and Critical.* By Charles D. B. Mills. Northampton, Mass.: Journal and Free Press Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

Miss Randolph's *Life of Stonewall Jackson** is in a military point of view, and perhaps in some others, inferior to that which we recently noticed. But the writer sympathizes more fully with the personal character and religious views of the great Puritan soldier than with his warlike genius and his peculiar military capacities; and consequently she gives a more detailed account of his childhood and youth, and of the early indications of that very remarkable character which was afterwards developed so fully by extraordinary circumstances and a great position, than other biographers of the Virginian hero have done. It is this that gives to her book whatever special interest it possesses, and may make it seem worth reading by many of Jackson's admirers who are already familiar with his professional career and historical achievements.

We have a number of technical works on our list, among which is a treatise by a military engineer, Major-General Gillmore†, of the U. S. army, on one of the most distinctively pacific branches of civil engineering—the laying out of roads and streets, and the paving of the latter. These are matters which Americans manage after a fashion of their own, suitable to the peculiar circumstances of their country, its vast distances, the rapid growth of its towns, the super-session, or rather anticipation, of highways by railroads, the cost of different materials, often reversing their comparative cost in Europe, and the high price of labour; and on such subjects therefore English engineers may possibly learn something from their Transatlantic brethren. To florists Mr. Rand's account of the various orchids‡ chiefly cultivated in the United States, with the methods of propagation, hybridization, and culture, will be exceedingly interesting. The conditions of sheep-farming in America are still essentially colonial, so that the *Shepherd's Manual*§ may be more useful in Australia than in England. Political economy is a topic not always admitting of sharp definition and simple exposition, and therefore one which can hardly be taught with effect in schools of the lower grades, or by the methods suitable to those for whom a Primer|| is properly designed. Thus much premised, the work of Messrs. Mason and Lalor deserves commendation. The Art of Shooting on the Wing¶ is an essential part of anything like true sportsmanship, and that of "loading so as to kill" should be essential to reconcile sport to the conscience of an age which objects to vivisection; but we doubt whether either can be taught theoretically, even by the plainest of directions. Poultry farming is an art more practised in France than here, but it is a business which in the neighbourhood of any great market should be profitable, and the experiences of an American Egg Farm** are worth consideration.

The Centennial Exhibition may give a temporary value to Mr. Westcott's very elaborate Guide to Philadelphia††, and to Burley's United States Gazetteer and Guide‡‡, which contains a rough historical sketch of American development and a good deal of useful statistical information.

* *The Life of General Thomas J. Jackson (Stonewall Jackson).* By Sarah Nicholas Randolph, Author of "The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson." With Illustrations. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. London: Sampson Low & Co.

† *A Practical Treatise on Roads, Streets, and Pavements.* By Q. A. Gillmore, A.M., Lieutenant-Colonel U. S. Corps of Engineers, &c. Author of "Limes, Hydraulic Cements, and Mortars," &c. New York: D. Van Nostrand. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

‡ *Orchids.* A Description of the Species and Varieties grown at Glen Ridge, near Boston; with Lists and Descriptions of other Desirable Kinds. Prefaced by Chapters on the Culture, Propagation, Collection, and Hybridization of Orchids, &c. By Edward Sprague Rand, Junior. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Cambridge: The Riverside Press. London: Sampson Low & Co.

§ *The Shepherd's Manual: a Practical Treatise on the Sheep.* Designed especially for American Shepherds. By Henry Stewart. Illustrated. New York: Judd & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

|| *The Primer of Political Economy, in Sixteen Definitions and Forty Propositions.* By Alfred B. Mason and John J. Lalor. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

¶ *Plain Directions for Acquiring the Art of Shooting on the Wing.* With Useful Hints concerning all that relates to Guns and Shooting, and particularly in regard to the Art of Loading so as to kill. By an Old Game-keeper. New York: The Industrial Publication Company. London: Trübner & Co.

** *An Egg Farm: the Management of Poultry in Large Numbers.* Being a Series of Articles written for the "American Agriculturist." With other Articles. By H. H. Stoddard. Illustrated. New York: Orange, Judd, & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

†† *The Official Guide-Book to Philadelphia.* A New Handbook for Strangers and Citizens. By Thompson Wescott, Author of a "History of Philadelphia," &c. Illustrated with nearly One Hundred Engravings. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. London: Trübner & Co.

‡‡ *Burley's United States Centennial Gazetteer and Guide.* A General Encyclopedia of the United States. Charles Holland Kidder, Editor. Philadelphia: S. W. Burley. London: Trübner & Co.

NOTICE.

We beg leave to state that we decline to return rejected Communications; and to this rule we can make no exception.

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MUSICAL UNION.—GRAND MATINEE at Three next Tuesday.—Septets of Beethoven and Hummel. Solos—Violin, Violoncello, and Piano-forte, by AUREL JABALA, LASSÉRIE, Redcliff, Hutchins, Du Bruns, Van Haute, Jekway, Lasarus, and Hollander. Vocalist, Mlle. Hedeker. Tickets, 7s. 6d., to be had of Lucas & Co., and Olivier, Bond Street, and Austin, at St. James's Hall. Visitors can pay at the Regent Street Entrance.—Director, Prof. ELIA.

PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY.—Conductor, Mr. W. G. CUSINS.—NINTH CONCERT. Monday, June 25, at St. James's Hall.—Overture, "Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage" (Mendelssohn); Concerto for Violin (Max Bruch); Violin, Mr. Leopold Auer; Symphonies—Minor (Schubert); Overture, "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg" (Wagner). Mme. Boddia-Pyne (late Miss Louisa Pyne, her first appearance for five years) and Mr. Edward Lloyd. Stalls, Area, or Balcony, 10s. 6d.; Balcony, Reserved Seats, 7s. 1 Balcony, Unreserved, 5s.; Area or Gallery, 2s. 6d.

THE SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS.—The EIGHTY-SIXTH EXHIBITION is now OPEN. 5 PALL MALL EAST. From 9 till 7. Admission, 1s. Catalogue, 6d.

ALFRED D. FRIPP, Secretary.

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES'S TOUR IN INDIA.—Mr. SIMPSON'S SKETCHES "INDIA SPECIAL" cannot remain ON VIEW later than the end of June. The Gallery being required for the Exhibition of Drawings by Elijah Walton.—BURLINGTON GALLERY, 91 Piccadilly. Ten to Six. Admission 1s.

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MR. GEORGE LANDSEER'S EXHIBITION OF INDIAN DRAWINGS AND SKETCHES WITH TROPHIES, OPEN DAILY at 146 NEW BOND STREET, from Ten o'clock. Admission 1s.

ROYAL GARDEN PARTY at CHISWICK, painted by L. DES ANGES, ON VIEW, at GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET. Ten till Six. Admission 1s. W. BELL, Secretary.

THE LONDON HOSPITAL MEDICAL COLLEGE. ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIPS.

An Examination will be held on September 25 for TWO SCIENCE SCHOLARSHIPS, value £50 and £40 respectively. The subjects will be the same as for the Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination at the London University (See University Calendar). Also on September 25, for TWO BUXTON SCHOLARSHIPS, value £20 and £20 respectively, in the subjects of the Preliminary Examination, as regulated by the General Council of Medical Education and Registration. Intending Candidates must send in their names not later than September 25. Particulars may be ascertained on application to the SECRETARY, at the Medical College, Turner Street, Mile End, E.

MISS GLYN (late Mrs. Dallas) has the honour to announce to her Friends and the Public, and to the Clergy and to Barristers, that she will teach READING and ELUCIDATION during her leisure from public work, at her residence, 13 Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, W.

ROSSALL SCHOOL.—TEN ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIPS (£40 to £20 a year) to be competed for September 25. Ages under Fifteen and a half and Fourteen and a half. Candidates examined at Rossall, or Oxford, as preferred, in Classics or Mathematics. Terms: with Nomination, Clergymen's Sons, 50 Guineas; Laymen's, 60; without Nomination, 10 Guineas extra.—Apply to Rev. the HEAD-MASTER, Rossall School, Fleetwood.

GERMANY, BERLIN and FRIEDRICHSDORF, near Gotha.—FRIEDRICH A. WEISSE'S ESTABLISHMENT, now exclusively devoted to the study of the Languages, Music and the Higher Branches, affords unequalled advantages for the health, progress, and enjoyment of her Boarders, being conducted during the Summer in Friedrichsdorf, and in Winter in Berlin. The prolonged residence in the most charming part of the Thuringian Forest, with its pure buoyant atmosphere, combined with a cheerful home, in excellent diet, has proved eminently beneficial to those whose health requires special attention; while the winter season in Berlin enables the Boarders to profit by the instructions of the best Professors, as well as by the various Art Institutions of the Imperial city.—For references in London, Edinburgh, &c., apply to Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORRAT.

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INTERNATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT for YOUNG GENTLEMEN in CANNSTATT.—Mr. HIRSCH, established twenty-three years, recommended by many parents and old pupils, will have some VACANCIES on September 1. Family comforts and English diet.—For Prospectuses, with many references, apply to W. F. KENYOLDS, Esq., Solicitor, 2 Fumival's Inn, or N. TRENBEL, Esq., Ludgate Hill.

BONN-ON-RHINE.—Mr. A. C. PEARSON, B.A., St. John's, Cambridge, has taken the Management of the House which for the last thirty years has been successfully conducted by Dr. W. C. PEAR. He prepares a few PUPILS for the Universities and the Civil and Military Examinations, and for the higher posts in Mercantile life.—For terms, &c., address 33 Bechtstrasse, Bonn-on-Rhine.

CONTINENTAL PREPARATION for the INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION (New Regulations). ARMY, UNIVERSITIES, &c. PUPILS thoroughly prepared for the above by the Rev. A. F. THOMSON, B.A., Oxon, Chaplain of Dinard, Brittany, France. Moderate terms, and highest references, both at home and abroad.—Address, Maison Henry, Dinard, Ile-et-Vilaine, France.

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A NOBLEMAN'S TUTOR, formerly an Assistant-Master at Cheltenham College, will soon be disengaged. He is very successful with little Boys, and with Gentlemen who have been carefully grounded; prepares for the Public Schools, University, Army, and Civil Service, &c.; would accept of a TUTORSHIP for the Long Vacation, or take charge of a Reading Party. Distinguished references.—Address, TUTOR, 91 Finchborough Road (South Kensington), S.W.

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COUNTY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.—The Office of WARDEN in the new College for Junior Students, now being established at Cambridge, will be filled up by the Trustees in the month of July. A minimum Salary of £200 a year, three years has been generously guaranteed by His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. To this will be added the use of a suitable House, and a Capitation Fee of £2 per Student for every Student between 20 and 100, after which number a Capitation Fee of £2 per Student in the College will form the Warden's Salary. A first block of buildings, to hold 55 Students, is to be ready for occupation in October, and further Buildings are contemplated as they may be required.

The new College is being established by the County College Association, and its object is twofold: 1st. To encourage and enable youths to obtain the University B.A. Degree at the age of 15 or 16, and therefore to commence residence at an earlier age than is now customary; 2nd. To create a system of training future Masters for Middle and Higher Schools. The Warden will be expected to take part in the instruction, as well as to be responsible for the discipline in the College.

Gentlemen wishing to apply for this Appointment are requested to communicate with the CHAIRMEN of the Association, to the care of Messrs. Edens & Knowles, 15 Sidney Street, Cambridge.

Testimonials may be sent in on or before July 1.

ALDENHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL, near Watford, Hertfordshire.—HEAD-MASTER.—The GOVERNORS will shortly proceed to the ELECTION of a HEAD-MASTER.

The School has lately been reconstructed, under a Scheme of the Endowed Schools Commissioners.

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He will enjoy his House and Garden free of rent and taxes.

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Professors of the various subjects, with copies of testimonials, before July 10 next, after which day the Governors will proceed to the Election. Further information may be obtained from the undersigned.

CHARLES R. VINES, Clerk to the Governors.

Brewers' Hall, Adle Street, London, May 29, 1876.

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MESSRS. FOSTER respectfully announce for SALE by AUCTION, at the Gallery, 54 PALL MALL, on Wednesday next, June 28, and two following days, at Two o'clock precisely each day, by direction of the Managers, the SECOND PORTION of this important COLLECTION, which includes some remarkably fine specimens of Water-colour Drawings by the most eminent Artists of the Roman School, particularly examples by

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THE NATIONAL BYRON MEMORIAL.—CONTRIBUTIONS, which may be sent either to Messrs. DRUMMOND, Charing Cross, or to the HONORARY SECRETARY, will invariably be acknowledged in the "Times." Amount already acknowledged, £3,000.
RICHARD EDGUMBE,
Grafton Club, W. Hon. Secretary, Byron Memorial Committee.

THE NATIONAL BYRON MONUMENT.—By Order of the Committee, the following Rules are laid down for the guidance of those who may be desirous of undertaking the execution of the STATUE OF LORD BYRON:

1. That the Memorial will ultimately be erected in the Green Park, opposite to the site of Piccadilly Terrace.
2. That Artists from all parts of Europe and from America are invited to compete.
3. That the Statue of Lord Byron be colossal, upon an appropriate pedestal.
4. That the material will be either hard Sicilian marble, Pentelico marble, or bronze.
5. That sketch models for the design be upon the scale of quarter size. They must in every instance be sent prepaid. Artists from abroad are requested to communicate with one of the correspondents named below, of whom the necessary labels and full information may be obtained.
6. Artists residing in the United Kingdom are requested to apply for information as to the transit of models direct to Messrs. M'CRACKEN, 38 Queen Street, Cannon Street, E.C.
7. That there will be a public Exhibition, in the month of October next, at the South Kensington Museum, of all Models offered for Competition. Final judgment will be passed by a Committee of Selection, which will meet the approval of competitors.
8. It is indispensable that the sketch models reach London on or before October 1, 1876.
9. That though it is impossible to name the exact sum which will be at the disposal of the Committee, it is certain that at least £3,000 will be available for the purpose of erecting a Monument to Lord Byron.

List of Correspondents.

Berlin—Mr. Lion M. Cohn.
Bern—Messrs. A. Buer & Co.
Bologna—Messrs. Benelli, Buglio, & Co.
Brussels—Messrs. Verstraeten, De Meurs, & Fils.
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Marseilles—Messrs. Claud Clero & Co.
Messina—Messrs. Callin, Walker, & Co.
To meet the convenience of Competitors residing at a distance from the Towns above named, special arrangements will be made, on receipt of a letter addressed to the HONORARY SECRETARY, at the Grafton Club, London.

RICHARD EDGUMBE,

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, Byron Memorial Fund.

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